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August
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Official Journal of the
American Sociological Society

Volume 8

Number 4

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SOCIOLOGY, PHYSICS AND MATHEMATICS*

LESLIE A. WHITE
University of Michigan

Among certain sociologists today there is admiration—and possibly envy—of the so-called exact sciences, and a desire to emulate them. Yet not every science is heavy with mathematics; some very respectable sciences are virtually non-mathematical in character and conduct. Mathematics is applicable to many problems in sociology. But the most important and fundamental problems of sociology are non-mathematical in nature; they are related rather to the *organic* structure and functioning of societies.

ANY years ago, when sociology was young, society was an organism, and sociologists were much concerned with its anatomy, which they called social structure, and with its physiology, which they termed social process. After a time they abandoned the "biological analogy," and turned to psychological viewpoints and concepts. Imitation, crowd psychology, consciousness of kind, social interaction, etc., became the order of the day. In recent years we have witnessed a tendency in sociology to enter still other channels: those of physics and mathematics.

Professor George A. Lundberg¹ exhibits modern physics to his fellow sociologists as an example of a successful science. He introduces them to quantum mechanics, field theory, atoms, electrons, energy transformations, etc. His pages are adorned with the names of eminent physicists: Newton, Bohr, Planck, Heisenberg, Schrödinger, *et al.* Einstein is cited sixteen times in the author

index; Durkheim only twice. Lundberg also urges his colleagues to become acquainted with mathematics and to employ its tools and techniques in sociological analysis and interpretation.

Now comes Professor Stuart C. Dodd with his gargantuan *Dimensions of Society* which attempts to show sociologists how sociology can be made an exact, mathematical science.

The reason for this enthusiasm for physics and mathematics is, we believe, fairly obvious. It is but a current manifestation of sociology's life-long yearning to become a science. When sociology made its debut, in the wake of *The Origin of Species*, it took biology as its model. Biology had enormous prestige at that time, and sociology set out to emulate that science. But the results were somewhat disappointing. Sociology did not become a science. She therefore changed her model; this time it was psychology. Decades have passed and still sociology's ambition is not realized. She not only fails to command respect as a science in other disciplines, but among many of her own followers as well.

The scientific wonder of today is the "new physics." Breaking the bounds of clas-

*This paper is a revision of "Sociology and Mathematics," read before the Michigan Sociological Society, Ann Arbor, March 26, 1943.

¹ *Foundations of Sociology* (New York, 1939).

sical mechanics, physicists of the twentieth century have entered a new and exciting world. Triumph has followed upon triumph, while the learned world has watched with wonder and admiration. Armed and equipped with powerful mathematical instruments the physicist has won success without parallel. Why should not sociology again change her model, and try to create herself in the image of mathematical physics?

Professor Lundberg, anticipating the charge of imitation, insists that he does not propose to use the concepts and techniques of physics and mathematics *because* they are employed in those disciplines. "We adopt them, if at all, because they are effective tools in reaching admittedly desired ends," (p. 150; see also, p. 50). No one, I dare say, would accuse Lundberg of advocating the use of the concepts and techniques of physics and mathematics in sociology *merely because* they are used in those sciences. Certainly we make no such charge. But, Lundberg's message to the sociologists seems to be sufficiently clear: "Look at physics. It is an exact science. It is amazingly effective and successful. Its success has been largely won because of its use of mathematics. Let us then go and do likewise."

But after discoursing upon the way in which physicists and mathematicians approach their problems, and after exhorting his fellow sociologists to give up their old fashioned metaphysical and even anthropomorphic ways of thinking, Lundberg's sociology turns out to be rather conventional after all. We find the old familiar concepts of reflexes, habits, folkways, and mores; co-operation, conflict, socialization, etc. Quantum mechanics—even Newtonian physics—still looks very far away.

Professor Dodd's *Dimensions of Society*² is an heroic and laborious affirmation of a faith. But as a contribution to a science of society, it must be reckoned a failure. Its thesis, the S-theory, is that the sociologist can express himself in a set of arbitrary symbols. And so he can, as Dodd demonstrates over and over again—1500 times,

I believe he claims. But to render "Absence makes the heart grow fonder" in algebraic-looking symbols and equations—which is the heart and soul of S-theory—is hardly a contribution to science. The tragic thing about Dodd's formulas and equations is that at best they do no more than restate a proposition first presented in another form; and, at their worst, they communicate much less than was contained in the original statement. To give but one example:

Professor Dodd takes a diagram (p. 74) which tells one quickly and effectively that the age of mammals is about 25 million years old, the age of man about one million; that the prehistoric era was about a million years long, the historic period only a few thousand, and translates it into an S-formula: $S = t: {}^a_uT^{+1}$. This formula, if presented to a sociologist who had been taught to read Dodd's notation, would tell him this:

The situation records time divided into 2 ages and sub-divided into 2 periods with initial dates stated.

Thus we find that after laboriously learning to read and write Dodd's notation, we come out with less information than we had at the beginning. The labor of communication is increased, the amount of information transmitted, decreased.

Dodd offers us *Dimensions of Society* as "a mathematical approach to society," (p. vi). It is filled with algebraic-looking symbols and equations. There are numerous allusions to vectors, tensor theory, matrices, and non-Euclidean geometry. But, "beyond the chapter on the classical theory of correlation, there is no mathematics in the book."³ Both Dodd and Lundberg have a naive conception of mathematics. Both think of mathematics as a kind of notation rather than as a method of reasoning.⁴ To translate a prose statement into a symbolic formula is, to them, mathematics. But, as Bell has said,

² E. T. Bell, in review of *Dimensions of Society* (*American Sociological Review*, Vol. VII, pp. 707-709, October 1942).

³ See Lundberg, *Foundations*, pp. 122, 150, 234, and Dodd's comment on mathematical notation, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

² New York, 1942.

³ *Op.*
⁴ *Lun*

merely to represent facts or ideas with symbols "is not even a respectable parody of mathematics."⁵ Mathematics has proved valuable in science because it is creative, generative, fertile; because it has enabled the scientist to do things that would be impossible without this means. But to Dodd and Lundberg mathematics—at least their symbolic equations and formulas—appears to be an end in itself. No doubt they think of their formulas and equations as means for progress and advancement. But they have yet to demonstrate this.

We have much sympathy for Professor Lundberg's earnest desire to make sociology more scientific and for Professor Dodd's prodigious labor for this cause. But we do not believe that they have led sociology appreciably closer to the promised land of science. On the contrary, we think they may have encouraged sociology to follow a course that is not suited to its nature.

Lundberg and Dodd assume that the relationship between science and mathematics is both intimate and necessary. They assume, further, that as a science matures it tends to assume mathematical form:

Geometric, arithmetic, and algebraic ways of expressing relationships usually come with the maturity of every science. . . . The more intricate and variable is the situation . . . the more dependent we become upon mathematical systems of symbolization.⁶

We may thus gauge the "scientific-ness" of a study by observing the extent to which it employs mathematics—the more mathematics the more scientific the study. Physics is the most mature of the sciences, and it is also the most mathematical. Sociology is the least mature of the sciences and uses very little mathematics. To make sociology scientific, therefore, we should make it mathematical.

This line of reasoning seems plausible, almost compelling at first glance. Actually it is quite superficial and definitely misleading. In the first place mathematical reasoning need not be, though it usually is, carried on

in mathematical symbolism.⁷ Secondly, mathematics is not always prerequisite for first class scientific work even in the physical sciences. Michael Faraday became a great physicist although he was, as Bell puts it, "practically illiterate mathematically."⁸ Thirdly, mathematics is not always a fruitful and progressive tool in science. Sometimes its influence is reactionary and stultifying. According to Bell, it is an "indisputable fact that the beautiful symmetry and simplicity of certain mathematical theories has caused them to be retained in science long after they should have been discarded to make way for increasing knowledge which they could not accommodate."⁹

Fourthly, and finally, there are a number of fairly respectable sciences that are essentially non-mathematical in nature. Physics is heavy with mathematics, but a great deal, if not most, of chemistry, a closely allied science, is not mathematical at all, or only moderately so. Of organic chemistry a distinguished chemist writes: "The whole theory of structure requires about as much mathematics as a child needs for building houses with blocks."¹⁰

Geology is predominantly non-mathematical. Biology has occasional use for arithmetic or statistics, but its basic problems are non-mathematical. Anatomy and physiology have very little to do with mathematics. Archeology has made substantial contributions to science virtually without the aid of mathematics. And most of the problems of ethnology, such as the nature and function of clans, the avunculate, cross-cousin marriage, totemism, fraternal polyandry, class distinctions, and hundreds of others, are essentially non-mathematical problems.

⁷ Bell, review of *Dimensions*, p. 708.

⁸ *The Handmaiden of the Sciences*, p. 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰ Gilbert N. Lewis, *The Anatomy of Science* (1926), p. 172, in a chapter entitled "Non-Mathematical Sciences." I am indebted to Professor R. H. Lowie's excellent essay "Cultural Anthropology: a Science" (*Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 301-320; 1936) for this reference. In this essay Professor Lowie scouts the idea that the social scientist must look and act like a physicist or mathematician in order to be truly "scientific."

⁵ *Op. Cit.*

⁶ Lundberg, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

Lundberg and Dodd like to point to men like "Galileo, Newton, Lobatchewsky and Einstein" when they speak of the "history of the successive intellectual revolutions that mark the epochs of science."¹¹ But how about Linnaeus, Lamarck, Lyell, Darwin, Harvey, Koch, von Baer, Pasteur, Lister, Boucher des Perthes, to mention only a few of the great men of science who do not wear the halo of mathematics. In short, it is clear that one may speak of mathematical sciences and non-mathematical sciences. Not that the division is absolute, of course. But that problems in certain sciences lend themselves readily to mathematical treatment, while progress is made in others by non-mathematical techniques, is perfectly plain. It remains to place sociology with reference to these two groups.

It is obvious, of course, that certain kinds of social phenomena can be handled with mathematical instruments. Insurance companies have been doing this for years. Banks and industrial corporations, too, make their statistical surveys, analyses, and predictions. The sociologist has shown that the success of a marriage or the outcome of a parole can be predicted as a consequence of statistical analysis. Anything which can be counted or measured lends itself to mathematical treatment. Thus we can correlate birth rate with production of pig iron, the divorce rate with the growth of delicatessens. We have here a vast field for sociological exploration, for statistical analysis and prediction. And, despite innumerable studies already made, the field is far from exhausted, nor will it ever be because situations are continually changing. But there are other sociological problems which do not yield to mathematical analysis; they lie outside the province of the mathematician—at least as far as we can see at the present time. Let us illustrate with a few examples.

In the Indian pueblos of the American Southwest, great dances are held in which gods are impersonated by men wearing grotesque masks. That these dances are important is shown by the labor of preparation and execution and by the attention paid

them. But what is the significance of the dance? Is it sacred or profane? Is the context military, agricultural, or medical? How are the esthetic and magical elements compounded? What function does the dance play in the social life of the pueblo as a whole? These are real problems and they are important. We cannot understand either the dance or the social life of the pueblo without understanding the relationship of the one to the other. Now the ethnologist has found ways to solve problems of this kind. But the techniques are not mathematical, nor do I see how they could be.

Similarly, the girls' adolescence rites among the Kwakiutl, the boys' initiation ceremonies among the Arunta, the medical ceremonies of the Navajo, the mortuary customs of the Bantu, and thousands of other institutions, cannot be understood without an appreciation of the context in which the ceremony or institution is found. As Professor Ruth Benedict has well expressed it, "the significant sociological unit . . . is not the institution, but the cultural configuration."¹² And so far, our understanding of cultural configurations, and of the role played by particular institutions in the organized social life of communities, has not been obtained by mathematical means. Perhaps, as Dodd suggests, we shall be able, some day, to apply non-Euclidean geometry to problems of this sort. But until someone shows us how to do this, we shall have to do the best we can with the tools at our disposal.

To turn from primitive peoples to our own society, let us harken to words of Durkheim, written many years ago. In the preface to the second edition of *The Rules of Sociological Method* he said:¹³

In the present state of the science [of sociology] we really do not even know what are the principal social institutions, such as the state, or the family. . . . We are almost completely ignorant of the factors on which they depend, the functions they fulfill, the laws of

¹¹ Lundberg, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

¹² *Patterns of Culture*, p. 244 (New York, 1934).

¹³ *The Rules of Sociological Method*, edited by Geo. E. G. Catlin, p. xlvii (University of Chicago Press, 1938).

their development; we are scarcely beginning to shed even a glimmer of light on some of these points. Yet one has only to glance through the works on sociology to see how rare is the appreciation of this ignorance and these difficulties.

Despite considerable progress in sociology since this passage was written, it is almost as true now as it was in Durkheim's day. Sociologists are still fairly ignorant where the functions and laws of development of our principal institutions are concerned. I know of no sociological treatise that presents an adequate account of the function of the church in our society or which lays bare the laws of development of the state.

If there is one thing that ethnology has made clear it is that the culture of a people is not, as B. Malinowski puts it, "a loose agglomeration of customs . . . a heap of anthropological curiosities, but a connected living whole . . . all its elements are interconnected, and each fulfills a specific function in the integral scheme."¹⁴ Of course this was the point of view of Spencer and other early sociologists. But, for reasons which need not concern us here, sociologists are now inclined to regard the "society is an organism" concept as old fashioned, if not obsolete, and to find satisfaction in the knowledge that they have outgrown it. I am of the opinion, however, that sociologists will have to go back to this point of view. As a matter of fact, it seems to me that in this direction lies the greatest hope for progress in the future. To be sure one need not be simple minded about it, and look upon societies as identical with animals. There are different kinds of organisms. There are biological organisms and there are sociological organisms. An organism is a system of mutually interrelated parts whose relationship to one another is governed by their

relation to the whole. A tribe or nation is thus an organism.

Now the point of all this is that many, if not most, of the fundamental problems of sociology are problems of organic structure and function. We want to understand, as Durkheim put it, the functions which our institutions fulfill. We want to know what function the church performs, not merely in the lives of individuals who kneel and pray in them, but as an institution, as an organ within society, in its relation to other institutions, or organs, and to the social body as a whole. We want to know the function of prisons. It is said that they prevent crime but do they? We want to know how such processes as education and propaganda work, and hundreds of other similar things. In short, we wish to understand the anatomy and physiology, so to speak, of social organisms.¹⁵

Speaking of primitive cultures, Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown observes:¹⁶

Every custom and belief of a primitive society plays some determinate part in the social life of the community, just as every organ of a living body plays some part in the general life of the organism. The mass of institutions, customs and beliefs forms a single whole or system that determines the life of the society, and the life of a society is not less real . . . than the life of an organism.

The same would hold true for modern societies.

Now the fact is that studies of organisms, both in biology and social anthropology, have been conducted without the use of mathematical techniques. The discovery of the circulation of the blood was made without mathematical instruments. The function of the stomach or liver or pancreas is studied non-mathematically. Sherrington's *The Integrative Action of the Nervous System*, or Pavlov's *Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes*, landmarks in the history of biology, are virtually devoid of mathematics.

¹⁴ Article "Social Anthropology," p. 864 (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed.). It is not only the functionalists of the Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown schools who view cultures as integrated wholes. See, e.g., R. Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1934). "Culture is integrated," says Franz Boas ("Aims of Anthropological Research," p. 612; *Science*, Vol. 76, December 30, 1932).

¹⁵ Malinowski often speaks of the "anatomy" or the "skeleton" of a culture, the "physiology" of a culture (see *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, pp. 11, 18, 22, 24, etc.).

¹⁶ *The Andaman Islanders*, pp. 229-230 (Cambridge, 1933 ed.).

Similarly, in social anthropology, the function of the clan, the medicine man, the totemic ritual, the puberty ceremony, etc., is studied without the aid of mathematics. We have a difference here between physics and mechanics on the one hand and biology and sociology on the other. The characteristic problem of the physicist is one in which he can count and measure. This is where mathematics comes in. But the biologist and sociologist have problems which cannot be solved by counting and measuring. We do not understand clans or livers by counting heads and measuring secretions. We understand an organism by discovering the interrelationship of its parts. Now it may be that some day we shall be able to grapple with problems of this sort with tensor theory and integral calculus. But progress in the past has been made without such tools, and there is room for much progress in the future without them.

Professor Radcliffe-Brown has observed that "the closest analogies which we shall get in social science are not with the physical sciences but with biology and physiology."¹⁷ We believe he is perfectly correct in thinking so. If sociology is to choose a model, it had much better be biology than physics and mathematics. As Professor Lowie has remarked:

The social scientist who plays the sedulous ape to mechanics makes himself ridiculous at a time when the hegemony of mechanics is not even recognized in other departments of physics or chemistry . . . his business is to co-ordinate in consonance with the nature of his phenomena¹⁸ [emphasis ours].

The sociologist's envy of the physicist can be carried too far, his desire to become mathematical can lead him astray. "Physics is mathematical," says Bertrand Russell, "not because we know so much about the physical world, but because we know so little: it is only its mathematical properties that we can discover."¹⁹ As the chemist,

geologist, physiologist, and social anthropologist well know, understanding can be won without mathematics. All roads to science are not paved with logarithms.

We may approach the question of sociology and mathematics from another direction. If a sociologist can discover mathematics and physics, might not a mathematician or a physicist discover sociology? And if such a person did turn his attention to sociological problems, would he not show us how to apply the techniques of the "exact" sciences? It so happens that we have examples of mathematicians and physicists who have devoted themselves to problems of sociology. We shall mention two.

Bertrand Russell is one of the outstanding mathematicians of our day. He is also well acquainted with modern physics, having written at least three books²⁰ in this field. Now Russell is also much interested in sociological problems and has written a number of books²¹ dealing with them. But in these sociological works we do not find mathematics employed—no vector analysis, no matrices, not even *Euclidean* geometry. Nor do we discover the compelling influence of physics. Why is this? Are we to assume that a mind as versatile as Russell's never thought of applying the techniques of physics and mathematics to sociological problems? It is hard to believe that the idea never occurred to him. *But we do find him applying the concept of organism to sociological problems.* In *Power, a New Social Analysis*, we find a chapter entitled "The Biology of Organizations," so called because "an organization is also an organism, with a life of its own . . ." (p. 157).

Our second example is Robert Andrews Millikan, a Nobel prize winning physicist. He, too, has written on sociological questions.²² But his language is not the language of mathematics. In fact we find him no closer to a mathematical sociology than

²⁰ *The ABC of Atoms* (1923), *ABC of Relativity* (1925), *The Analysis of Matter* (1927).

²¹ *Why Men Fight* (1916); *Proposed Roads to Freedom* (1918); *Power, a New Social Analysis* (1938), etc.

²² *Science and the New Civilization* (1930), "Science and the World of Tomorrow" (*Scientific Monthly*, September 1939).

¹⁷ "The Nature of a Theoretical Natural Science of Society," p. 57 (mimeographed; University of Chicago, 1937).

¹⁸ "Cultural Anthropology: a Science," p. 317 (*Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, Vol. XLII, November, 1936).

¹⁹ *Philosophy*, p. 157 (New York, 1927).

Albion W. Small or Franklin H. Giddings. Are we to believe that when Millikan turned to social problems the idea of using the techniques of physics and mathematics, the mental habits of a lifetime, simply never entered his mind?

Of course, the fact that Russell, Millikan, and others like them have not used mathematics when dealing with sociological problems does not prove that it cannot be done. But, we believe, their failure to do so is significant.

This paper should not close without making one point perfectly clear. *We are not opposed to the use of mathematics in sociology.* Nothing would please us more than to be able to solve sociological problems with integral calculus or the geometry of relativity. We admire physics and envy her achievements. But we do not wish to be like the hare in the fable who, out of admiration for the lion, tried to live on meat. And, if we are to have mathematics in our

sociology, let it be real mathematics, not a mimicry. Let us not dress ourselves up in algebraic-looking symbols and think we have become mathematicians. In science, at least, it take more than clothes to make the man.

CONCLUSION

With regard to the applicability of mathematics to sociological problems, we would say: First, that many social phenomena may be treated mathematically, particularly by statistical techniques. This has been a common, and often a fruitful, practice for decades, and no doubt much progress will be made in this direction in the future. But, secondly, we believe that the fundamental problems of sociology, as of ethnology and social anthropology, are essentially and intrinsically non-mathematical problems. They are like the problems of biology rather than of physics, and arise from the organic nature and consitution of society. It is not a Newton that sociology is waiting for, but a Darwin.

HUMAN CONTROLS AS SITUATION-PROCESSES*

THOMAS D. ELIOT

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An argument for the adoption of a terminology of social interaction and controls better adapted to the now accepted viewpoints of modern physics, biology, and general semantics. The word *situation* alone is spatial and static. The word *process* alone has only the time dimension. Both represent abstractions from the totality of actuality-experience. A situation changing through time, a situation-process, is still an abstraction in the sense of being a selected segment-period of the Total Space-Time Manifold; but it does include and suggest the undivided and indivisible reality within its field.

The social controls, especially telic (purposive) controls, are reconsidered as situation-processes, in which each "situation" produces or emerges as its own successor *in toto*. Reversibility, reflexion, prediction, compensation, and emergence of novelty (impredicted, predicted or chosen), are discussed. In a sense, the greater the possible control, the less reliable can prediction of behavior be, on the human level.

The applicability of the situational approach to personal and societal problems is further expanded by the conception of situation-process.

SITUATION AND PROCESS

We happen to live in a four dimensional world, where 'space and time' cannot be divided. Whoever does this splitting must introduce fictitious, non-survival entities and influences into his system.¹

SO SAID Alfred Korzybski (1933). Much of our sociological vocabulary stands for merely spatial or merely temporal concepts; its terms break the world into supposedly disparate elements.

Such old-fashioned terms as the Social Process and the Social Problem, while they lent themselves to vague thinking, did have the merit of recognizing the connectedness or integral nature of causation throughout a given universe of social experience. Even social processes are now conceived as changes of a given direction or quality, abstracted for analysis from the larger context of social interaction, which in turn is abstracted from interaction in general.

Most process words are used also on occasion to describe a product, condition or state of affairs taken like a cross-section at

a given time in the process. 'Assimilation,' for example, or 'conflict,' may describe a process in time, or a situation in 'space' resulting from the foregoing process, and more or less stabilized. This double usage makes some of our present terminology adaptable for usage with a space-time connotation.

Within the range of social controls many more special terms such as tradition, fashion, ceremony, are used to describe either an arrangement in space or a process through time, and thus bear witness to the inseparability of actual space-time. Such words as *folkways* and *mores*, however, are apt to be reified or conceived as static formulae, devoid of process other than imitation or compliance.

The word *situation*, when used as Thomas used it to contain both subject and object (attitudes and values), is itself a non-elementalistic word, but its usage tends to omit the time factor present in every actual experience. Thomas recognized that each situation, when defined, leads to action which in turn must be evaluated. But this is a dialectic schema, an abstraction from the infinitely more complex yet smoother flow of an actual situation-process into its next phase. Uninterruptedly each actual situation as a whole produces its sequence as a whole.

* Adapted from a chapter of an unpublished volume on Human Controls, 1937. Given before Midwest Sociological Society, 1942.

¹ Korzybski, Alfred, *Science and Sanity*, Science Press, Lancaster, 1933, p. 184.

Situation is a space-word; *process* is a time-word. Each separately is an abstraction: any situation to be actual must persist through time as well as exist and extend in space. In any actual sequence there must be something spatial to do the following-through. *Situation-process* comprises both the process and that which (extended in space) proceeds or is processed: it is a space-time concept.

It should also be recognized, however, that even a *situation-process* is, in another respect still an abstraction from the larger, all-inclusive Space-Time-Manifold with which it is actually continuous.

The *universe* literally *turns as one*, though conceived and treated as if it were composed of separable entities supposedly more or less independent of their milieu and continuity. To deal with the totality of experience (except in some philosophic or religious sense) we must break it down into units that we can swing, and which seem to hang together significantly when we swing them. Such units are, for the 'natural' sciences: universes, nebulae, systems, stars, planets; quanta, electrons, molecules, elements; genes, chromosomes, cells, tissues, organs, organisms, species; neurons, reflex arcs, 'instincts,' ganglia, complexes, attitudes, persons. For the social sciences, we have: groups, social movements, institutions, communities, as units of consideration or manipulation. We isolate processes and also situations. The phrases *situation-process* and *situation-sequence* serve to remind us that in actuality situations are never static nor are processes separable from a space-pattern.

CONCEPTIONS OF STRUCTURE AS CAUSES

The words 'pattern' and 'structure' should not suggest static pictures or unreal cross-sections of actuality. There is pattern and structure through time as well as in space.

The patterns or configurations we see, whether we call them visions, histories, ideologies, or utopias, are themselves factors in the future, since as predictive assumptions they, too, are part of the emerging situation-process.

Mythologies, theologies, philosophies, 'isms' and sciences have been attempts to convert the chaos of experience into a cosmos, by seeing patterns or structures in smaller or larger segments of the total: patterns in space, patterns in time, unities and processes capable of being effectively grasped by mere human beings. These symbolic and conceptual structures are comparable to maps.

To quote Korzybski again, "A map is *not* the territory it represents, but, if correct, it has similar structure to the territory, which accounts for its usefulness."² If the territory differs, expands, or changes, the map leads us astray, if not to disaster.

If one be dealing merely with so-called physical objects, the errors due to present inadequacies of language symbols (incorrect maps of the territory) may not be serious. For social engineers, statesmen and diplomats, such fallacies are dangerous. Persons, groups, nations are treated *as if* they were identical with their namesakes or predecessors, and the results may be hell, *i.e.*, war, as we now observe.

The history of men's philosophies of history is a succession of frames of reference each serving until it cracks under the strain of recalcitrant facts; and of the quest for new conceptual structures which will seem more satisfactorily to fit, rationalize, and control the new configurations of actual experience.³

The motion-picture film may provide an analogy helpful in interpreting the idea of situation-processes. The machine cannot reproduce the flesh-and-blood flow of structure-function which is the actual world. It *represents* this flow by a series of 'stills' or 'frames' which can be flashed more rapidly than the retina can recover. The film is a series of 'stills,' portraying a sequence of situations, but the responses of the observer, over-lapping, give the illusion of continuity. To examine and analyze a flux of events we have to select a single frame, a momentary snapshot which will 'stop' the motion and permit analysis. What is analyzed

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³ Cf. in this connection a forthcoming book by Edward Haskell, *United Nations and Unified Science*.

is then a past situation, to which motion is merely imputed. Whether the analysis is significant or useful will then depend upon the extent to which the situation changes before an attempt is made to use the analysis, as a 'map.' If we deal with 'situation-processes,' on the other hand, we force ourselves to recognize the motion picture underlying the film.

In social case work, the situational approach, long recognized, has been admirably elaborated by Ada Sheffield. In the case history the situation is apt to be analyzed or re-examined and re-defined as of given dates; and the dates of appraisal are apt to be periods of personal or family crisis in which solution of a conflict requires that the situation be redefined; also probably enlarged by inclusion or addition of 'new' factors from agencies and areas previously considered 'outside' the situation. At each such succeeding critical period the situation is converted. How it is redefined and perhaps relabeled also has its effect, as a predictive assumption, upon the ensuing situation. Mowrer and Krueger have used the crisis-sequence to interpret life-histories.

In community studies our cross-sections are spot-maps, which by symbols abstract the distribution of certain phenomena at a given period. Again, such static pictures are helpful only if subsequent change be sufficiently slow not to vitiate the results of its use. They are *more* useful if a series of spot-maps, a situation-sequence, taken at intervals, can give us a trend, *i.e.*, a time-structure, or pattern-through-time. Theoretically spot-maps could be taken, like snapshots from a stationary observation balloon, often enough and long enough to be run off like a fast motion picture of an unfolding plant, with a similar illusion of continuity, so that one could watch the human ecological landscape squirming and metamorphosing before his very eyes. Series of demographic maps and graphs, collectively showing population trends, serve already to chart the planning of telephone systems, parks, and other features of city structure-function.

It is hoped that such general semantic analysis as this may provide a sounder set of thinking tools for the analysis of human social controls.

CONTROL AND CAUSATION

Not all human control situation-processes are correctly called 'social control': 'social control' implies response by the controlled

organisms, at whatever degree of awareness. "Shanghaiing" a sailor, ejecting a disturber bodily, are human actions but not social interactions. They are subsocial controls. (Not all social control is human: there is social control on elementary levels among subhumans.)

'Social control' describes aspects of social interaction (purposive or non-purposive) in which 'causality,' 'consequence,' 'manipulation,' 'influence,' are the common elements under observation; the objective of study of social control may be mere analysis or it may be a means to the control of the controls.

In using the phrase 'human social control' we assume that certain situations (concrete, observable events) 'cause' other situations; that there is no event (out-come) that does not *come out of* 'preceding' events; and that, while every event is unique, there are sufficient similarities between even human events to make generalizations interesting and tentative prediction and manipulation useful, if their approximateness is borne in mind.

In order to make these generalizations, however, it is necessary to abstract from the total flow of events (to wit, the universe) certain observable units of consideration which experience or experiment (*i.e.*, directed and controlled experience) seems to indicate may be usefully considered 'as if' they were separable as functional unities, without distorting the adjustive usefulness of our evaluations.

The generalizations themselves can never be taken as representing one hundred per cent of actuality. But, as long as more or less approximation and distortion is thus admitted and allowed for, there is less danger and greater usefulness in them.

We further assume that there is a difference between mere sequence and real 'causation'; and also between prediction based upon mere regularity of sequence (as day and night); and prediction based upon the presence of 'causes,' *viz.*, factors shown to be correlated indispensably or differentially and therefore 'significant.'

A test for our acceptance of this difference seems to be our capacity to 'control' the phenomena, in the sense of inductive logical

method—either through purposive and selective observation and statistical devices, or through purposive experimentation and logical 'demonstration.'

The critical difference between human controls and other 'causation' processes was explained by the late psychiatrist William Alanson White, on *The Meaning of Disease* (an essay in medical philosophy which every physician should read).⁴ In 'lifeless' causation, there are irreversible or irrevocable changes in segments of the space-time manifold; and, following the second law of thermo-dynamics, the universe 'moves' through time toward ultimate equilibrium and stagnation. In 'life,' an 'eddy' is set up, in which, for a time, metabolism maintains a sort of gyroscopic resistance to universal causation outside itself.

To the extent that living protoplasm deposits a non-living frame, or otherwise takes form in relatively set structure (e.g., a crab's armament-structure or man's exteroceptive system) so as to defend or attack at the frontiers of its 'own control' or 'identity,' such 'structural' or 'organic' specializations are subject to 'external,' irreversible causation. Relatively speaking, the 'structural' aspects of organisms are those which show a lower rate of living (i.e., change more slowly in response to changing surroundings) than do those more plastic, relatively indeterminate and versatile tissues which are called 'functional.' Being less rigid and less organized, such labile tissues are to that extent capable of reversing their own processes, of resisting change and of initiating external effects.

While the impossibility of reversal in ordinary structure-functions can be demonstrated statistically by the laws of chance and probability, living matter is so organized that the impossibility of reversal under accidental or actually controllable conditions becomes an improbable possibility. Space-time is not thereby reversed; but living structure-functions in sections of space-time, where function is as yet relatively un-

structuralized, have properties of growth, resistance, delayed response, regression, 'de-differentiation,' restoration, recombination, reciprocal influence, which account for the possibilities of control processes. The tissues in which these capacities are found seem to be in the so-called vegetative and autonomic system (glands, fluids, etc.) and in the synaptic processes of the higher nervous system. Symbolism, feeling-tone, and (on the physiological level) the 'affect,' or complex gradient of bio-chemical tensions in the organism, seem to provide the linkage between the 'lower,' unconscious, bio-mechanical levels and the 'higher' cerebral centers.

The writer ventures to suggest that this temporary resistance or delay, found in protoplasm, this partial, relative, approximate 'reversability' in living tissue may be what makes possible, or is the essence of, the other 're'-processes: re-cognition, re-collection, re-flection, even re-formation, or re-generation. The processes called memory comparison, identification, sympathy, consciousness of kind, conceptualization, and imagination are likewise implied, once the repetition of sufficiently similar experience in living tissue is admitted. And, while space-time in general, like Shakespeare, does not repeat, the protected eddy of living structure seems to be able to re-turn, re-trace, re-store its re-sponses, to re-cognize or re-member resemblance and difference, thus creating the experiences called *change* and *time*. For if two experiences were totally disparate, there would be no common ground to do the changing. *Con-sciousness*, meaning *knowing something together*, binds differing experiences by recognizing 'identity' underlying change, or disparity with respect to something recognized as comparable.

Giddings' analyses suggested an evolutionary gradient of causal processes, beginning with contained heat or latent energy and 'mere motion,' rising to metabolism, response to stimulus, interstimulation and response, pluralistic behavior, and conscious discipline.⁵ Crystals and chemicals, in small,

⁴ White, William Alanson, *The Meaning of Disease*, Williams and Wilkins, Baltimore, 1926, pp. 136-151.

⁵ Cf. Giddings, Franklin Henry, *Principles of Sociology*, Macmillan, New York City, 1896, pp. 363-399; also *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*,

artificially separated units (control situations), show a 'reversibility' suggesting that of living matter. But even these experimental bodies are now considered as composed of inconceivable millions of 'ultimate' units, the energy-centers called electrons, ions, etc., and the regularity of chemical responses is attributed to the stability of averages in large aggregates of similar 'units.' The individual molecule or quantum is considered unpredictable—though its actual behavior will have been determined by that infinity of 'causes' which is the then universe. Or, for 'infinity of causes' we may substitute the totality of the configuration of the universe at a given moment, to which an infinity of causes would be conceived as the approached limit.

We are wont to speak of determinism as characterizing a situation in which everything is theoretically controlled and predictable, and of free behavior also as a situation in which one's personal acts are controlled and predictable. This ambiguity of the phrase 'controlled and predictable' is confusing. It may be cleared up by noting that under determinism the controls are all determined by other than human factors, and prediction arises from experiment or objective calculation of probabilities (natural law); while in any animate behavior, and especially in human behavior, there emerge types of unitary reaction which are unpredictable because the combination of factors is so complex as to be unique. The resultant (while admittedly part of the Totality and caused thereby and therethrough) may be considered as emerging 'freely' as a novel product from within the organism itself, subsuming all its own causative 'past' in its own causative present, as a unique 'personal' response to the total situation in which it momentarily participates. Among such responses are some which prove capable of rousing other sentient beings: *they then control one another*. Further there evolve or emerge *recognition of control*, and *conscious*

effort, either to control or to resist control. *Control of the controls* (telesis) has now been achieved in varying degrees over inanimate, vegetable, and animal nature, and in gradual measure over human nature.

PREDICTABILITY VERSUS CONTROL

As in the organism, where White finds unpredictability and controllability in the lowliest and again in the most complex tissues, so, in the world at large, we find unpredictability in the sub-microscopic 'quanta' at one extreme and in persons at the other. The contrast is accounted for in that neither extreme provides an aggregate of similar units sufficient for the laws of chance to give our minds material for calculation of probabilities. The paradox is thus 'explained' in terms of the further paradox, that the most certain things we have are the laws of chance! We can predict the behavior of quanta-in-bulk, which we know as 'matter,' and we can predict the behavior of human beings in masses, both predictions being conditional upon reasonable 'permanence' of the assumed constants in the equation ('structure of the situation'). Insurance-tables cannot tell you when any particular person is going to do his dying; but (barring epidemic, war, or other unpredictable variable external to the selected situation) they are a 'safe bet.'

Note here, again, that the laws of *chance* are the basis of *insurance*. In an early prototype of insurance, the 'Tontine,' several persons born the same year contributed equally to a fund which by contract went to the last survivor: *they bet on their longevity*. Lloyd's, the great English insurance house, will insure many things beside fire, life, and the like—e.g., shipping, date of coronation, etc. Lloyd's gigantic business is made possible by so selecting and pricing risks that they *bet*, not merely on particular chances but on a *mass of betting-events*, the risks of which may vary widely in character, but which offset each other sufficiently to reduce the total risk, i.e., increase the predictability of profit.

What we do in deliberate human control is to try to subject behavior which would otherwise be predictable only by the law of averages, or is too personal to be predicta-

Macmillan, New York City, 1922, pp. 249-290; and *The Scientific Study of Human Society*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1924, pp. 1-14, 145 and *passim*.

* Cf. little the will, Cf. All ter, tran xxx; II,

ble, to stimuli which, being consciously controlled, we consider predictable in result. In so doing we introduce into any previously uncontrolled prediction-situation a new element which was not included in that aggregate of data upon which the previous prediction had been based. If the earlier prediction be thus prevented from fulfillment, we have not then 'violated' or 'disproved' determinism. It is merely that we have enlarged the area within which the determination of a particular subsequent event (situation-process) would have to be calculated. Any area of behavior which becomes subject to human controls becomes thereby unpredictable except by the person or persons exercising, or knowing the facts of, such controls.

The study of human controls of the statistically predictable sort has as an objective the special knowledge which may enable its possessors to use their internal resources to control in unique ways their own or others' responses, in the controller's interest, thus rendering them subject to the will.⁶ Rendering others subject to one's will implies a different form of predictability from that of averages. In a sense, sociologists hope and are attempting to learn for human 'quanta' what doubtless looked equally impossible for early chemists and physicists in their study, for example, of gases—namely, the uniformities of their behavior under comparably similar conditions, and the uniformities of their change under standardized changes in situation; and with a similar purpose, *viz.*, through knowledge of the probabilities in an increasing number of the variables, to reduce unpredictability, especially at 'critical points' (e.g., volatilization, revolution) and thereby increase controllability.

SIMPLEX VERSUS MULTIPLE CAUSATION

Billiard-balls have, for some reason, become as hackneyed for the illustration of mechanical causation as have the poor over-

worked dog-bell-and-food of Pavlov for the illustration of animate causation. Ball A hits ball B and its motion is 'transmitted' to ball B, *etc.* In common sense terms, A 'causes' B to move, is the cause of B's change of behavior. But common-sense here has simplified events for practical purposes. The statement, if interpreted, assumes that A provides the differential cause, the element that makes the difference in B *if all other facts remain constant* or constant enough to be negligible in the equation. The level of the table, the air pressure, the shape and texture of the ball, *etc.*, are also indispensable to the result, in the sense that if any of these conditions became suddenly a variable instead of a constant, the result would be to that extent different. The impulse of ball A is, of course, an indispensable vector, but it, too, is a resultant of unnumbered vectors in the total situation preceding. To refer to ball A as *the* cause is to confuse the indispensable with the exclusive. Radicals and religionists are apt to be monistic in regard to causation. The same fallacy is committed when people blame or credit a group, a party, a law, a single condition, or act, or person in past or present—or even an intellectual movement or idea, for some current event or situation, forgetting that, even if their 'facts' be true, they ignore other facts, as well as the complex nature of the factors they do name. A race, a government, or a church may thus be made a scapegoat for the inevitable, or is given undue 'credit.' Current factors may loom so large as differentials in a given situation that the effects and indispensability of historic configurations and movements (e.g., Christianity, Renaissance, Reformation, Industrial Revolution, European War), being constants, are forgot. Persons are likewise subject to this fallacy of causal unilinearity: as when an editor is held exclusively responsible for his paper's policy, or when a single committeeman takes credit for a piece of legislation, or when a hero is glorified for some deed, or when a criminal is blamed as exclusive cause of a crime-situation. Individualistic philosophies and ethics usually rest on a similar unreal assumption. To blame 'the public,' however, is also a 'scapegoat mech-

⁶ Cf. Stoic philosophy developed in a period when little that was "external to a man" was subject to the will, at least for the philosopher-slaves of Rome. Cf. *All the Works of Epictetus* . . . (Elizabeth Carter, transl.), S. Richardson, London, 1758, I, xxix-xxx; II, xiii.

anism'; it relieves the sense of responsibility, and distracts one from specific modifiable factors. All blame, by drawing and withdrawing attention, and by rousing hate, makes intelligent analysis and control difficult.

THE INTEGRAL NATURE OF CAUSATION

Many thinkers and investigators have independently contributed to the situational approach, or used it, in recent years. George and Mary Boole, English symbolic philosophers, were forerunners of Thomas and of situational thinking. They set up a symbolic formula for the solving of problems of personal valuation: ' $x + \text{not-}x = 1$ ';⁷ by which they meant that x , a problem-situation could always be solved by enlarging its area to include the apparently incongruous elements, the *not- x* . This is possible by stepping up to a next higher plane, from which the two elements can be seen as a whole (integer, '1'). To view one's own or a client's problem individually, for example, is to ignore the "non- x " which belongs to the situation if it is to be controlled. The Booles' formula "Truth comes from the union of opposites," reminds one of the Hegelian dialectic, from which it may have derived.

The *Gestalt* psychologists note the tendency of the mind to experience wholes, or patterns as wholes. We see patterns in experience or abstract them from experience; and we complete the patterns mentally or projectively when actuality does not so present itself. This power or tendency may lead to hallucinations or rationalizations;⁸ or, on the other hand, it may lead to discoveries through hypothesis, to solutions of problems by interpolation,⁹ or by analogy,⁸ or to prediction by extrapolation (projecting) of curves or trends beyond the present,

etc. We are able thus creatively to add the 'not x ' and integrate the situation.

Thomas and Znaniecki presented, in the "Methodological Note" of *The Polish Peasant*,¹⁰ another phase of partial vs. integral methods of solution. Every situation involves attitudes (subjective elements) and 'values' (objects, conditions, cultural stimuli to which values are attributed by the attitudes). To appraise a problem as if it consisted solely of the one or the other phase is to intensify the problem; such an approach to a non-problem situation may even create the problem. To the known element must be added the knowledge of the unknown variable, whereupon the total situation appears *selbstverständlich*, clarified by the very process of analysis and re-synthesis. A workable 'definition of the situation' must include both the attitudes and the values involved.

Follett, Lasker, Lindeman, and others of the "Inquiry" group used a similar approach to inter-group-conflict situations: each side was to be led to define the situation in terms of a larger pattern, inclusive of the differences of interest, revealing if possible common ground, developing a sensed need of completion by the other's difference (non- x), etc.

Mowrer¹¹ and Krueger,¹² applying Thomas' idea of defining problem situations in terms of 'crisis,' traced family problem sequences from crisis-situation to crisis-situation. Krueger called these situations 'constellations of tensions.'

The writer would consider each such 'crisis-situation' as a snapshot or cross-section of a situation-process, a configuration changing as it passes through the temporal dimension, which we can grasp best by analyzing it as at *critical moments* it impresses itself upon the participants or is defined by them and by observers. What we

⁷ Boole, Mary, "George Boole's Psychology as a Factor in Education" (1901), in *The Works . . .*, C. W. Daniel Company, London, 1931, II, p. 790.

⁸ Cf. Burke, Kenneth, *Permanence and Change*, New Republic, New York City, 1935: pp. 17-30, and pp. 128-164.

⁹ Poincaré, Jules Henri, *The Foundations of Science* (George Bruce Halsted, transl.), Science Press, New York City (Lancaster), 1921, pp. 127-129.

¹⁰ Thomas, William Isaac, and Znaniecki, Florian, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1918, pp. 10-12, 20-30, 54-56.

¹¹ Mowrer, Ernest Russell, *Family Disorganization*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927, pp. 195-229, 254-256. (Cites Krueger's analyses.)

¹² Krueger, E. T., "A Study of Marriage Incompatibility," *Family*, IX, April 1928, pp. 53-60.

then have is a sequence of definitions of the situation at given moments, making possible an estimate of change, an evaluation of process and even a control thereof, based on such multi-dimensional definition. For, when the situation itself, as of one date, is defined or redefined, it is thereby enlarged as of the date of the new definition to include that definition and its definers; and, if the problem be solved by the new elements as included, the enlarged situation may be said to have re-solved itself.

The situation (group, cultural factors) is now recognized as a unit of consideration in insanity,¹³ in crime,¹⁴ in leadership,¹⁵ in child study,¹⁶ in social case work,¹⁷ and doubtless in other fields less familiar to the writer.

¹³ E.g., Williams, Frankwood, *Russia, Youth, and the Present Day World*, Farrar and Rinehart, New York City, 1934; Sullivan, Harry Stack, "The Sociogenesis of Homosexual Behavior of Males," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIV (1929), 1930, pp. 281-282 (abstract); Boisen, A. T., "The Psychiatric Approach to the Study of Religion," *Religious Education*, XXIII, March 1928, pp. 201-207.

¹⁴ E.g., Sutherland, Edwin H., *Criminology*, Lipincott, Philadelphia, 1924, pp. 20-21.

¹⁵ Murphy, Gardner, and Lois Barclay, *Experimental Psychology*, Harper, New York City, 1931, pp. 341, 358-359, 408; Bartlett, F. C., *Psychology and the Soldier*, University Press, Cambridge, 1927, p. 144; Bellingrath, George C., *Qualities Associated with Leadership in the Extra-Curricular Activities of the High School*, Teachers College, New York City, 1933; Young, Kimball, *Social Psychology*, Crofts, New York City, 1936, pp. 361-363; Russell, Bertrand, *Power*, Norton, New York City, 1938, pp. 42-46; Cowley, W. H., "Three Distinctions in the Study of Leaders," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXIII, July-September, 1928, pp. 150-151.

¹⁶ E.g., Richards, Esther Loring, "The Role of Situation in Psychopathological Conditions," *Mental Hygiene*, V, July, 1921, pp. 449-467; Bühler, Charlotte, "The Social Behavior of the Child," in Murchison, Carl Allenmore (Ed.), *A Handbook of Child Psychology*, Clark University Press, Worcester, 1931, pp. 392-431, especially pp. 400-409, 412-413; Plant, James Stuart, "The Individual and His Environment," *Educational Trends*, VI, April-May, 1938, pp. 32-37; Plant, James Stuart, "Mental Hygiene Aspects of the Family," *Family*, XIII, April-June, 1932, especially pp. 39-45, 120-123; Plant, James Stuart, "Cultural Patterns as Affecting Personality Structure," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXVI, 1932, p. 188 (abstract);

THE SITUATION-PROCESS AS UNIT OF PREDICTION AND OF CONTROL

A *situation-process* is not a monad: it is recognized as a space-time configuration lifted out (abstracted) from the space-time totality by the observer, but having reality in that it can be dealt with and shared with others as a unity which can be envisaged, and in or toward which passive or active adaptation can be effective. The word gets away from certain unreal connotations attaching to such words as *individual*, *society*, *institution*, or even *group*. It suggests an 'open system,' i.e., dynamic and subject to intrusions or influences from space-time outside the situation and converging through it as a nexus.

A child's case history may include experiences with hospital, protective society, school nurse, attendance officer, settlement, juvenile court, placing agency, police. . . . He has become serially a patient, a neglected child, a tonsillectomy, a truant, a nuisance, a delinquent, a foster-child, a criminal; in other words, at each crisis the situation is redefined with a new label. Each agency, handling a selected *type of crisis*, is like a turnstile through which persons 'from many walks of life,' each along his *unique* path, pass, if they have the right ticket, i.e., conform to some pattern which the abstract terms of that agency's 'label' will fit. The agency enters the situation for good or ill,¹⁸ and the person passes on—perhaps to the next crisis-situation, label and agency.

Dealing with aggregates, statistical methods can isolate factors significant for the aggregate effect, and these, of course, are

Plant, James Stuart, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern*, Commonwealth Fund, New York City, 1937; Olson, Willard C., "The Diagnosis and Treatment of Behavior Disorders of Children," *Yearbook, the National Society for the Study of Education*, XXXIV, February 1935, pp. 363-397, especially pp. 364-373.

¹⁷ E.g., Queen, Stuart Alfred, and Mann, Delbert Martin, *Social Pathology*, Crowell, New York City, 1925, pp. 16-20; Sheffield, Ada Eliot, *Social Insight in Case Situations*, Appleton-Century, New York City, 1937.

¹⁸ Cf. Healy, William, "The Psychology of the Situation . . .," in *The Child, the Clinic and the Court*, New Republic, New York City, 1927, pp. 37-52.

valuable indicators for social control of the total situation-process. The *chances* are that the indicated factor in the group-situation-result would be significant in a given personal case-situation-process within that aggregate, and possibly in the same aggregate later, or in a similar aggregate elsewhere. But statistical interpretations of social causation are apt to be misleading, unless their interpretation is held within the limits of their logical applicability.¹⁹ On the other hand, the limited validity of analyses or predictions in particular (perhaps unique) short-time situations or small groups taken by themselves should not lead us to argue *a fortiori* (Sorokin to the contrary notwithstanding) that for larger aggregates of phenomena (numbers and time-units) social prediction is invalid and useless.²⁰

In every case-history (situation-process) in a given aggregate we might find a given 'factor'; yet for a given case the relation of that 'factor' in space and time to the other 'factors' in the total situation (as analyzed by abstraction into 'factors') might be totally different from its significance in a neighbor case with a different temporal background and apperceptive mass. Indeed *all* of the factors under consideration, and shown *in the aggregate* to be significant, might be demonstrated in a particular case, yet be more or less neutralized or transmitted in their outcome by some 'non-x,' some unanalyzed, unabstracted, unfactored variable; or even by the *order* in which the original factors entered or emerged in the total situation-process. In case M, a factor previously latent may be essential to the effect of another factor not yet entered or active; both factors may, therefore, be 'differential causes' in N, another simultaneous case, but neutral constants in cases M and O.²¹

¹⁹ Sorokin, Pitirim A., "The Principle of Limits Applied to Problems of Causal or Functional Relationship . . . and of the Direction of Social Processes," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXVI, 1932, pp. 19-27.

²⁰ Cf. Sorokin, Pitirim A., "Is Accurate Social Planning Possible?" *American Sociological Review*, I, February 1936, pp. 12-28.

²¹ Studies of causation in Healy, William, *The Individual Delinquent*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1915.

Finally, from the point of view of control, it is important in case-work (social, educational, etc.) not to limit attention merely to variable factors singled out as significant by statistical analysis. To do so would be to confuse actual variation or constancy with potential modifiability or unmodifiability. A factor statistically non-significant in the mass (uncontrolled) situation may prove to be highly significant in a particular case; and (though a constant in the mass and therefore ignored or considered inevitable in planning collective measures of cure or prevention) the condition may in the personal situation-process prove to be modifiable, in other words may be *made* a significant variable, for the particular case.

It should be clearly recognized that, in the field of human controls we cannot have our cake and eat it too. The more power and skill you and I gain in planning and controlling the behavior of groups and institutions and communities, the less confidently can the mass membership of such communities directly attempt to control or even to predict their own behavior. The behavior of people who retain personal freedom is predictable by others only in terms of mass averages. Their controls are largely internal and unpredictable even by the persons themselves, except in so far as the subjects have conscious insight and self-control. Only by holding expert *planners* democratically responsible to those *planned-for*, can the latter maintain in some sense control over their own situation-processes.²² Freedom remains a function of power.²³ Personal freedom in a democracy depends on the power to defend one's internal controls from encroachment by external power, and to hold *one's self* responsible for such encroachments on others' freedoms.

²² Cf. "Reactions to Predictive Assumptions," *American Sociological Review*, II, August 1937, pp. 508-517; "Democracy and Responsibility," *Christian Register*, CXIX, February 15, 1940, pp. 74-76.

²³ Cf. Whipple, Leon, *The Story of Civil Liberties in the United States*, Vanguard Press, New York City, 1927, p. vi, 1, and *passim*; also Russell, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

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THE SOCIAL ROLES OF TEACHERS AND PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT

WILBUR BROOKOVER

Indiana State Teachers College

The nature of the teacher's role in relation to his pupils is a significant part of the learning situation. A quantitative analysis of the relationship between a controlled sample of 66 history teachers and their students shows that those teachers who maintain congenial democratic relationships teach significantly less history information than those who assume more autocratic roles. This may result from the fact that students in American schools expect dictation and do not respond effectively to democratic patterns.

RECOGNITION of the fact that education is a social process suggests the possibility that an analysis of the social relations involved in the learning situation may contribute to our knowledge of the factors associated with the learner's achievement. Although educators generally have accepted this fact, sociologists have not made the contribution which Tuttle¹ feels is necessary for understanding the teaching-learning process. It seems certain that the nature of the social interaction between the teacher and the pupil must be significant in the determination of the pupil's learning. However, neither students of education nor sociologists have done much to discover what type of relationship between the teacher and pupil produces the most favorable results.

Teachers take many different roles in relation to their pupils² and interact with them in many different ways, but for our purposes we might set up two general types.³ First, the dominating, aloof teacher who tends to set himself apart from his students and maintains a certain social distance from them. This type of relationship might be

spoken of as dictatorial and the teachers as dictators. Second, the friendly, congenial teacher who attempts to associate with the pupil as a companion and helper. For convenience we might call this a friendly or democratic type of relationship and the teachers who maintained such relations with their pupils as friendly teachers. The question that we would like to answer is which of the two types of teacher-pupil relationship results in the greater and more desirable learning on the part of the pupils.

Although he seems to deplore the idea, Waller⁴ takes the position that the teacher must dominate the students in order to make them learn. This is necessary in his opinion because of the presence of conflict between the teacher and the pupil and the inability of teachers to get satisfactory results without domination. While recognizing the prevalence of conflict in the school room Finney and Zeleny maintain that "accommodation, *i.e.*, the opposite of conflict or an identification of interests, techniques will increase the efforts of students, improve the efficiency of instruction, and foster mental health for both the teacher and the pupils."⁵ Both these

¹ Harold S. Tuttle, *A Social Basis of Education*, Crowell Company, New York, 1932, p. 8.

² See Kimball Young, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment*, F. S. Crofts, New York, 1941, pp. 454-460.

³ These concepts are in the nature of "ideal-types" as used by Max Weber and his followers. They have not been validated to the extent that the writer is assured that all would accept such types, but the results of this study seem to verify their consistency.

⁴ Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching*, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1932, *passim*. See also the paper by the same author entitled "The Teacher's Roles," in J. S. Roucek, *Foundations of Educational Sociology*, Crowell, New York, 1942, pp. 204-222.

⁵ Ross L. Finney and Leslie, Zeleny, *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*, D. C. Heath and Company, 1934, pp. 142 ff.

points of view recognize the dissociative⁶ character of teacher-pupil relations in the average school and suggest extensive changes in the nature of the relations for the improvement of teaching. They differ, however, in regard to the relative efficiency of the dictator and friendly teacher roles within the present school situation. Waller maintains that the teacher must dominate and dictate to be efficient while Finney and Zeleny feel that such teachers are less efficient than the friendly ones.⁷

Psychologists and supervisors have maintained that friendliness, congeniality, helpfulness and fairness are associated with efficiency in the learning process. This opinion has been supported by some studies which measured efficiency in learning by qualitative judgments. Hart⁸ found that 80 percent of 3725 high school seniors considered the teacher whom they liked best as their best teacher. Among the most frequently mentioned reasons for liking the teacher mentioned best were such things as: (1) is helpful with school work, (2) good-natured, sense of humor, (3) human, friendly, companionable, one of us. These high school seniors rated the teacher whom they characterized by these terms as their best teacher as well as the best liked one in four-fifths of the cases.

Similar judgments were indicated in a study of the relation of person-person interaction between teachers and pupils to the pupils' rating of teaching ability made by the writer.⁹ A scale was constructed to meas-

ure the sense of friendliness or intimacy on the part of high school students toward their teachers. The ratings on this "Person-Person Interaction Scale" were then checked against the students' ratings of the teacher's ability as "teacher." The Pearsonian correlation between these two ratings was .64 which indicates that the teachers who had the more friendly congenial relationship with their students were considered more efficient teachers by the students.

Although the qualitative judgments on this question were in general agreement there had been no objective or quantitative evidence that students actually learned more when their teachers were friendly and congenial with them.

An objective analysis of this hypothesis was made in a study of 66 United States History teachers in the rural consolidated high schools of 12 north central Indiana counties.¹⁰ After all pertinent variables such as age of pupils, size of school, size of classes, previous knowledge of history, and teaching materials were eliminated the mean gain in knowledge of United States History during a period of 60 days was obtained for the pupils of each of these 66 teachers. The 1275 United States History students of these teachers replied to a series of questions (see Table 1) concerning the teacher's relations with them. These data were set up in contingency tables with mean gains in history information as one variable and the pupils' responses to one of the questions as the other variable in each case. The Chi-square test was then applied to determine the probability that differences as large as those between the observed and the expected frequencies would occur by chance.¹¹

between Teachers and Pupils and Teaching Effectiveness," *Journal of Educational Research*, December 1940, pp. 242; also Wilbur Brookover, "Teacher-Pupil Relations and Their Influence on Teaching Ability," M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1939.

¹⁰ Wilbur Brookover, "Relation of Social Factors to Teaching Ability," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin Library, 1943, for a complete report of the study. This work was done under the supervision of Dr. T. C. McCormick to whom the writer is greatly indebted for many valuable suggestions.

¹¹ T. C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1942, pp. 203 ff., for discussion of statistical methods used.

⁶ See Leopold Von Wiese and Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology*, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1932, for classification of the forms of interaction.

⁷ The recent experiments in democratic, autocratic and laissez-faire organization of groups made by Kurt Lewin and his associates at Iowa University are pertinent in relation to this problem. See K. Lewin, R. Lippitt, and R. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created Social Climate," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1939, 10: 271-299. Also Papers by Kurt Lewin, Thomas French, Ronald Lippitt and Alex Bavelas in Goodwin Watson (Ed.), *Civilian Morale*, Reynal and Hitchcock, New York, 1942.

⁸ Frank Hart, *Teachers and Teaching by 10,000 High School Seniors*, Macmillan, New York, 1934.

⁹ Wilbur Brookover, "Person-Person Interaction

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If the probability was sufficiently low to indicate a real relationship, the coefficient of contingency was calculated to determine the amount of the relationship. The direction of the relationship was determined by inspection of the data and the direction of the signs of the differences between the observed and the theoretical frequencies.

recreational activities?" (5) "Do you think this teacher is fair?" (6) "Is this teacher helpful to you in your work?" (7) "Do you confide in this teacher and tell him your troubles?" In each of these seven cases, the teachers whose students most frequently rated them favorably (*i.e.*, "always friendly," "often helpful," "admire very much,"

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN 1275¹ STUDENT RESPONSES TO 10² QUESTIONS CONCERNING THEIR SOCIAL RELATIONS WITH 66 HISTORY TEACHERS AND THE PUPIL MEAN GAINS IN HISTORY INFORMATION

Questions Asked the Pupils	Results of Tests of Relationship with Mean Gains in History Information			
	Chi-square	Probability	Coefficient of Contingency	Direction of Relationship
Is this teacher friendly to you when you meet him?	27.47	.01—	.195	negative
Does this teacher join in your recreational activities?	26.51	.01—	.187	negative
Do you like to have this teacher join in your social and recreational activities?	46.86	.01—	.229	negative
Is this teacher helpful to you in your work?	24.68	.01—	.167	negative
Do you confide in this teacher and tell him your troubles?	15.98	.05—	.135	negative
Do you think this teacher is fair?	23.88	.01—	.165	negative
Do you admire this teacher personally?	22.11	.01	.158	negative
Do you respect this teacher for his academic ability?	18.06	.02	.144	curvilinear
Do you think this teacher is a "sissy"?	33.85	.01—	.195	curvilinear
Do you think this teacher is peculiar?	19.85	.01	.150	positive

¹ In some cases a few less than 1275 students answered the questions; 1269 was the smallest number of replies.

² Other questions were asked the pupils, but they were either not directly connected with the questions discussed here or did not show significant correlation with gains in information.

³ The probability that the Chi-square would occur by chance. The customary five percent level of significance is accepted, so that any value of .05 or less indicates a significant relationship.

The analysis of the association between these indexes of teacher-pupil relations and teaching ability led to the following conclusions.

There are low ($c = .23$ or less) but significant and consistent negative correlations between the pupils' answers to seven of the questions asked and mean gains in pupil information. These seven questions are: (1) "Is this teacher friendly when you meet him?" (2) "Does this teacher join in your recreational activities?" (3) "Do you admire this teacher personally?" (4) "Do you like to have this teacher join in your social and

etc.) were less effective teachers as judged by mean gains in pupil information than those who were rated less favorably. Favorable response to each of these questions seems indicative of a congenial personal relationship within which the interaction is relatively free and democratic. Therefore, the inference is that among this group of men United States History teachers of eleventh-grade students, the ones who have the more congenial or friendly relationships with their students tend to be less effective teachers of history.

Three other questions show slight but sig-

nificant curvilinear correlations with mean gains in information: (1) "Do you respect this teacher for his academic ability?" (2) "Do you think this teacher is a 'sissy'?" (3) "Do you think this teacher is peculiar?" The patterns of relationship for these three factors are somewhat varied. There is a curvilinear relationship between pupil gains in information and respect for academic ability. Teachers above the average in pupil gains are more respected than teachers of less than average effectiveness, but the latter are more respected than those with average gains in information. This suggests a somewhat blurred positive relationship between the pupils' respect for their teachers and the pupil gains credited to the latter. A similar relationship exists between sissiness and gains in information. Ratings of "very" and "somewhat" "sissy" are more common for teachers with average gains than either better or poorer ones. Superior and very superior teachers of history, however, are more frequently considered "sissy" than the below average and poor history teachers. If "sissiness" is regarded as an undesirable trait, the more effective teachers received the less desirable ratings. Ratings of "very" and "somewhat" peculiar are most frequently given to very superior and superior teachers; while ratings of "not at all" peculiar are most frequently given to below average and poor teachers.

It seems safe to assume that students are not congenial with the teachers whom they consider sissy or peculiar. These relationships which show that teachers with average and above average gains in history information are more frequently rated as sissy and peculiar than less effective teachers therefore tend to substantiate the other negative relationships noted above. They also indicate that teachers who have more congenial relations with their students tend to be less effective history teachers than those who are less congenial. The positive correlation between respect for academic ability and gains in information shows that the students respect the better teachers for their effectiveness even though they consider them unfriendly, peculiar, "sissy," or possessed of

other undesirable traits.

The general conclusion resulting from this investigation is that for the given group of United States History teachers a low but significant negative association exists between mean gains in pupils' information and the degree of friendliness or congeniality in personal relationship which the teacher has with his pupils.

This result is quite interesting in view of the findings of earlier studies. Other studies¹² have indicated a positive relationship between the friendliness of teacher-pupil relations and the ratings of teaching ability. This position has long been taken by educators who consider friendliness, helpfulness, and other evidences of congeniality to be associated with good teaching. Such a position is not supported by the results of this study. It is conceivable, of course, that such factors may be positively associated with other criteria of good teaching than the one we have used here. It is possible that the teachers whom the students consider especially friendly, whom they most frequently confide in and admire, and who join in their recreation may have other beneficial effects on their pupils; but objective tests have generally indicated that they are slightly less effective than other teachers as imparters of information.

The meaning of these results is not easily interpreted for, as suggested by LaDuke¹³ in rejecting a similar finding, they are contrary to common sense. Since these findings indicate a consistent pattern of relationships, it seems impossible to reject them. When examined in terms of the traditional teacher-pupil patterns of expectancy an interpretation is suggested.

This traditional pattern of relationship is one of conflict or struggle¹⁴ in which the teacher must maintain the dominant role if the interaction is to continue in an orderly form. In this situation the student expects the teacher to force him to learn. If this

¹² See Hart, *op. cit.* and Brookover, *op. cit.*

¹³ Charles V. LaDuke, "The Measurement of Teaching Efficiency," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin Library, 1941.

¹⁴ Waller, *op. cit.*

force or dictation is not present in the situation, the student may react (unless otherwise motivated) on the assumption that learning is not desired or at least not necessary in this situation. Thus, if the traditional patterns of expectancy are present in the minds of the students in a learning situation, the traditional teacher role is more likely to stimulate learning.

This does not necessarily mean that teachers must always be autocratic in order to be effective teachers of information, but rather that autocracy is more effective in groups which expect dictation. French makes a similar conclusion from the Iowa studies on group activity. "One of the most interesting conclusions from Kurt Lewin's recent experiments in group activity is the fact that if a group has been accustomed to an autocratic regime it takes time for it to adjust to a democratic organization of its activity. Adjustment to an autocratic 'at-

mosphere' takes place much more quickly, but democratic attitudes are a product of learning and growth."¹⁵ Thus the results reported here are in harmony with the Lewin results. Youth in our American school culture seem to react more efficiently, and perhaps with satisfaction, to domination and dictation.¹⁶

If educators wish to develop democratic attitudes and techniques while maintaining the highest level of attainment in pupil learning perhaps it will be necessary to modify the organization of our schools so that the child will expect his teacher to be friendly and democratic rather than a dictator.

¹⁵ Thomas M. French, "The Psycho Dynamic Problem of Democracy," in *Civilian Morale*, edited by Goodwin Watson, Reynal and Hitchcock, New York, 1942, p. 23.

¹⁶ See Ronald Lippitt, "The Morale of Youth Groups," in Goodwin Watson (Ed.), *ibid.*, pp. 119-142.

THE NEGRO IN BAHIA, BRAZIL: A PROBLEM IN METHOD

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

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The description of Negro family life in Bahia, Brazil, as given by E. F. Frazier is reviewed. The disintegration of African patterns held to have resulted from white contact, when analyzed in terms of aboriginal tribal family organization, particularly with reference to underlying sanctions, is found to exist to a very slight degree. The Afro-Bahian family manifests traits peculiar to it, but these are the results of accommodation to an acculturative situation, and are not a sign of demoralization.

I. UNDER the same title as the first part of the heading of this paper, Frazier has recently presented a brief analysis of Afro-Bahian family structure, considering its development, present form (or lack of form), and probable future.¹ Frazier's conclusions, which he terms tentative and which "should be tested by further study," are, briefly, as follows:

- 1) "African patterns of family life have tended to disappear";
- 2) "Where the black family has assumed an institutional character, it has generally been among those elements . . . which have assimilated Brazilian or Portuguese culture";
- 3) "Among the poorer classes . . . the family, often based upon a common-law relationship, tends to assume the character of a natural organization";
- 4) "Whatever has been preserved of African culture . . . has become a part of the folklore of the people and, so far as family relationships are concerned, there are no rigid, consistent patterns of behavior that can be traced to African culture."

It is proposed here to analyze these conclusions, drawing on the results of research in the same city where Frazier worked. Our analysis will be made in terms of a three-fold approach, to be phrased in the following questions: What are the "African family

forms" and the "African patterns of family life" from which the present-day Afro-Bahian family has evolved? What, in terms of this background, are the forms of the Afro-Bahian family as at present constituted, and, in similar terms, the sanctions of this institution? What methodological problems, as concerns relevance, competence, and effectiveness of application, arise from the analysis of similarities and differences between Frazier's sketch of the Afro-Bahian family and that to be given here?²

II. The study of Negro custom has written an interesting chapter in the history of the methodology of social science in the United States. For in this field, analysis of cultural survivals has been carried on with almost complete disregard of the aboriginal forms of behavior which are variously held to have survived, disappeared or changed form as a result of contact with majority patterns. The documentation of this phenomenon, and an analysis of the reasons why it prevailed have been given elsewhere, and need not here be repeated.³

¹ The materials incorporated in this paper were gathered in 1941-42, during a field trip to study the Brazilian Negro. This research was undertaken with the support of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The field-work was carried on by Mrs. Herskovits and the writer. It is a pleasure to record my indebtedness to Dr. José Valladares, Director of the Bahian State Museum, who gave so liberally of his time in aiding this research, not only as interpreter, but as friend and fellow-student.

² M. J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, *passim*, but especially pp. 54-61.

³ *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VII (August 1942), pp. 465-478. The term "Afro-Bahian" is an adaptation of "Afro-Brazilian," a designation commonly used by Brazilian students of the Negro.

It is but rarely recognized that this procedure is unique to this country. Elsewhere—in Cuba, Haiti, and Brazil, for example—every effort has been made by scholars working in this field to obtain as complete an account as possible of the African baseline of tradition from which their materials are known or are assumed to have been derived.⁴ As Frazier observes for Brazil, the concern of Brazilian students was “with the study of religious practices and beliefs, music, dances and folklore,” because of their conviction “that slavery changed completely the social behavior of the Negro and that African culture survived only in his folklore.”

Frazier felt that Afro-Bahian social structure did offer a field for research, and proceeded to his investigation, bringing the techniques of the North American scholar to the study of his problem. In doing so, however, he imported into Brazil the methodological blind-spot that marks Negro research in this country. No reference to any work describing African cultures is made in his paper, and only oblique references to the forms of African social structure are encountered.

In speaking of a priestess who headed a cult-house whose ownership passed down in the maternal line, we are told that, “her great grandmother was Ewe-Mahin origin (*sic*), African tribes among which descent is traced in the female line and property is inherited by males on the mother's side.” Tribes do exist in West Africa where the type of descent and inheritance described here is found, as, for example, the Ashanti of the Gold Coast. But the fact is that Gold Coast slaves were not imported into Brazil in significant numbers, a point established as firmly by documentary evidence as it has been by the findings of comparative ethnography. The social organization of the Dahomean and Yoruban peoples, on the other hand, is patrilineal, not matrilineal.⁵

Again, Frazier mentions the polygynous pattern of West African family structure, citing an important figure in the Afro-Bahian cults whose grandfather, “a warrior in Africa” had forty wives, and whose father, “following African polygynous patterns,” had five wives. For the rest, variations are rung on the statement that the data show “how African family patterns have disintegrated.”

One more point must be made before we proceed to a sketch of West African social organization. As in most works in the American tradition which deal with the survival of African cultural traits, only overt forms, in what is conceived to be the strict African manifestation of a given aspect of social structure, are taken into consideration by Frazier, the underlying sanctions being ignored. That is, where polygyny, under New World stresses, has changed into a series of extra-legal relationships, the sociological reality of this accommodation is overlooked, African polygyny is held to have disappeared, and the psychologically invalid, but legally valid concept of “concubine” is accorded, in the literature, a validity it does not at all have for the people themselves.

The social organization of the Yoruban and Dahomean peoples of West Africa, who have played the most important role in shaping Afro-Bahian culture,⁶ is a complex struc-

of Southern Nigeria, Vol. II, p. 539, 683, *inter alia*; for Dahomey, cf. M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey*, Vol. I, pp. 137 ff. See also for the Gã, M. J. Field, *Social Organization of the Gã People*, pp. 1-65. For the Ashanti matrilineal system, wherein, however, descent on the father's side also assumes importance, cf. R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti*, pp. 22 ff., 37 ff., 45 ff.

⁵The Congo-Angola influences are not taken up here, since their weight in this process cannot as yet be evaluated. Frazier's statement (p. 475), that, “From the studies of Brazilian anthropologists, we know that Bantu culture either disappeared in Brazil or became merged in the Bantu Candomblés with the rituals and beliefs of the Sudanese Negroes,” is unacceptable; on the very pages he cites (in note 13) of an article by Ramos, this student gives a list of aspects of Afro-Brazilian cultural traits imported from the Congo area. The literature from this region is, on the whole deficient, but we have enough information to indicate that the unilateral descent pattern, polygyny, and the ancestral cult are among the aspects it had in common with the Dahomean-Yoruban cultures, which means that

⁴Cf., for example, the works of Fernando Ortiz on the Cuban Negro, of Price-Mars for Haiti, of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos Gilberto Freyre, and others for Brazil.

⁶For the Yoruba, cf. P. A. Talbot, *The Peoples*

ture. The immediate family, consisting of a man, his wife or wives, and their children, is the fundamental unit. This group inhabits a compound, a series of houses surrounded by a wall or hedge. Each wife has a separate dwelling for herself and her children; the husband has his own structure, where the wives live with him in their allotted turn, cooking his food, washing his clothes, and otherwise ministering to his needs. In the nature of the case, however, the sex ratio being what it is, monogamous matings are by no means rare.

Human relationships within the polygynous household are of a quality that derives from the tensions inherent in the setting. Mother and children are knit by bonds far stronger than those which join father and children, even though descent in these cultures is in the paternal line; one shares one's mother only with one's "own" brothers and sisters, but a father is claimed by the children of all his wives. Each wife therefore uses all her ingenuity to obtain the most favorable position for her own children as against the children of her co-wives.

Even where polygyny is sanctioned, therefore, the life of the group is anything but calm. Songs, bitter songs of "allusion" are on record as sung by one wife against a rival; in the large household cliques intrigue one against the other when occasion arises. "One must be something of a diplomat," was the prescription of the head of one such household known for its smoothness of operation; and in this case, life goes on with no more friction than in any relationship where people are in close and continuous contact.

Typically, compounds are grouped in accordance with the descent of their heads, the compounds of a series of brothers forming what is technically called an "extended family." Sometimes an unmarried younger brother will live in the compound of his elder brother; on occasion, he continues living there even after he is married. The oldest

these traits would be reinforced under contact with European tradition. Cf., for example, W. D. Hambley, "The Ovimbundu of Angola," *Field Museum Pub., Anth. Ser.*, Vol. XXI (1934), pp. 179-199.

in line of descent from the founder is the head of the group; on his death, the son he designates as heir takes over his compound, while the headship of the extended family passes to the next younger brother surviving the late chief. In certain instances in Dahomey, at least, a woman may be head of an extended family. Marriage types are numerous among this people, and a woman who commands wealth may "marry" an eligible girl, permitting a male friend to cohabit with her, and claiming, as "father," the offspring of her "wife." In this case, the descent unit goes no farther than the extended family, whose physical symbol of unity and whole unique position in society is marked by the rule that, however large, it must always inhabit a single compound, the headship of which is forever retained in the female line.⁷

A group of extended families constitutes a sib or clan, and the unity of this descent-group is validated by its mythologically conceived ancestry. The cult of the dead, as operative in the role of the ancestors in influencing everyday life, must thus be regarded and is actually so regarded by the Africans themselves as the mechanism which, more than any other single cause, gives the significant sanctions to social structures. A man or woman desires many children so that, at death, the proper funeral rites will insure a proper place in the after-world. As a single family grows to be an extended family, the place of the founder will, through eternity, be the more important; should the group attain the stature of a sib, he may look forward to becoming a national, "public" deity.

As in all societies where sib-organization obtains, the role of the sib is to regulate marriage. But, as has been indicated, marriage is an institution which takes many forms. If we refer again to Dahomey—the problem has not been as intensively studied

⁷ Cf. M. J. Herskovits, "A Note on Woman Marriage," *Africa*, Vol. X (1937), pp. 225-341. It is to this convention, rather than a rule of matrilineal descent, that the inheritance of the Bahian cult-center in the matrilineal line noted by Frazier is to be referred.

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elsewhere, but there is ample evidence to indicate that the Dahomean pattern does not differ widely from that prevalent in all West Africa—thirteen variant forms of marriage are recognized. These types fall into two principal categories, a fact that has implications of considerable importance for the analysis of Africanisms in New World social organization. It thus merits a somewhat extended description:

Actually, these forms may be regarded as specialized sub-types of either one or the other of two principal forms of marriage. . . . The French-speaking native denominates these two principal divisions of marriage types as "legitimate" and "illegitimate." The real significance of such classification, however, is revealed in the Fón terms for the marriage types which occur most frequently in each category, those in the first being called *akwénúsi*, "money-with women," and in the second *xadudo*, "friend-custody." The point of divergence, then, turns on the fact that marriages in the former category carry an obligation for the bridegroom to give to the father of his wife those traditional payments which, in turn, give him control of the children born of the marriage; while in the latter category these obligations are not assumed and, though the children are members of the sib of their father, control over them remains in the hands of their mother or of her people.⁸

Thus it is to be seen that among this West African folk, and among others where analogous marriage systems are found, there exists an entire series of matings wherein the woman is free to determine the course of her marriage and its permanence. And among these tribes, be it noted, no demoralization of social patterns exists!

Though the control of children rests in the father or mother respectively, in accordance with whether or not the sanctioned payments to the family of the bride have passed, the affiliation of the child, as far as his spiritual being is concerned, is invariably to his father's line, since it is from the father that a child inherits his soul. This is not only the case in patrilineal societies; among the Ashanti, where socio-economic position is determined by affiliation in the maternal line,

along which incest prohibitions are drawn, the soul descends from father to child, something so important that it gives rise to a type of preferential mating.

Actually, in West Africa—and, in all likelihood, over all the continent—both parents figure prominently in shaping the destiny of the child. The institutionalized manifestations of this point of view are merely objectifications of attitudes that sometimes take less overt forms. One of these is the attitude, in these societies where unilateral descent is the rule, toward the "off" parent and his family—the parent to whom one is not socially related. Dahomey, again, offers a good instance of this for the area. Here, it will be remembered, the entire "feel" of the descent system is patrilineal; yet the relationship between a person and his mother and her family is extremely close. Where a paternal uncle or grandparent would punish if appealed to by a younger sib-mate in difficulty, a maternal relative will give aid, and help to quiet an embarrassing situation.

III. In the light of the foregoing sketch of West African family structures and their underlying sanctions, let us re-examine the social organization of the Afro-Bahians to see whether or not the picture of almost complete disorganization Frazier presents cannot be resolved into a series of recognizable patterns of both form and sanction. It must be emphasized that what we seek are Africanisms, without reference to their degree of purity; that we are concerned with accommodations to a new setting; that our aim is neither prescription nor prediction, but the understanding of process under acculturation.

In the Brazilian scene, where all the weighting of prestige goes to the modes of behavior of the dominant group, it is natural that the Afro-Bahians, as full citizens of their community, should respond to these values as do their fellows of European descent. All the force of church and state is thrown behind the monogamous mating sanctioned by a marriage ceremony performed in the registry and, later, by the priest before his altar. This is reflected in speech-habits

⁸ M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey*, Vol. I, pp. 301-302.

whereby a legal wife is called "Madame" as against the "Senhora" that is the appellation of any mature woman.

Especially among the darker segments of the population are parents jealous to achieve marriage in the legal sense for their daughters. For even under the minimum of interracial tension that exists in Brazil, the black folk, as many of them frankly will tell a listener interested in problems of marriage, feel they must prove their morality in terms of majority values, and that they cannot afford even the liberties the mulatto may take. Black girls are therefore believed to be and, in such cases as could be observed, actually were under a surveillance more strict than were lighter ones.

This feeling goes so far that, it is stated, sex adventures on the part of a black daughter may result in the father's appeal to the law and a forced marriage. Once married, with a ring on her finger and reputation secure, events may proceed as the pair determine. If compatibility develops, the marriage may endure, and on occasion does. If not, husband and wife separate, each free to enter into such new matings as interest and desire dictate.

The patterns of these "regular" marriages are those of the majority of the population, though there are certain sanctions not known to whites, and which the Afro-Bahian will speak of only "to those who have understanding of such things"—to quote his favorite idiom. Reference is had to these steps which assure to the Afro-Bahian that his marriage has the consent of the African deities and the ancestors. These steps are more commonly taken by the woman who, in terms of both European and African patterns, is the more concerned of the two in the consummation and continuation of the marriage. To this end, she consults a diviner to find out whether some other person "blocks the path," and if there is shown to be such a one, Eshu, the guardian of the cross-roads, is invoked to clear the way. Some two weeks before the marriage takes place, a second offering to this same deity is made and another to his master, Ogun, who cares for paths.

From a day to several weeks before the marriage, a cock will be given to the *egun*¹⁰—for "the ancestors must be fed." In true African fashion they will be called, notified of the impending marriage of their "child," asked to help the match prosper, and then "sent away." If the bride is a widow, the *egun* of her dead husband must be fully propitiated; the diviner is visited to ascertain the wishes of the dead and they are punctiliously fulfilled lest he jealously vent his anger on the new spouse. As a part of this complex, a mass for dead parents of the pair, if they are not living, or even a grandparent, is offered and pilgrimages are made to various special churches on the Sunday following the ceremony. But for one other element, this completes the cycle of ritual. Some time before the marriage, a month or two weeks, the young man and woman, or she alone if he is unable or unwilling to accompany here, go to the cemetery to pray to the souls of their parents, if these are not living. It is asked that they "work with God" for the happiness of the offspring, and to ensure the success of the venture. And a month after the marriage, the couple return to give thanks to the same spirits.

It may be objected that all this is "folklore," and has little or nothing to do with the sociological reality that is the family. The very fact that matings are classified as "legal" or "common-law" marriages, however, indicates that sanctions do figure in setting up categories and evaluating findings. In the situation with which we are concerned, and in other New World Negro groups, what is being studied are the survivals of a non-European culture in a society whose dominant traditions are European in origin and character. Hence, it is critical, even where the overt institutions of the dominant group prevail, to determine whether or not sanctions that derive from another cultural stream have been retained, and the form which these take in the new configuration.

As concerns the Afro-Bahian family, how-

¹⁰ The *egun* cult of the dead is practiced in Nigeria today as it was when the Africans brought it to Brazil.

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ever, we may ask whether, in addition to the non-European sanctions of the dominant, conventional European marriage form discussed above, survivals of African family types in institutionalized form cannot be discerned. This question may be investigated in terms of possible retentions of the essential points of West African social structure outlined in the preceding section—patterns of polygyny, of sexual independence of women, and of the relations between mother and children as against those between father and children. This, in turn, brings us first of all to a consideration of social as against legally sanctioned types of mating, and to the position of the children in terms of legal and social conceptions of legitimacy.

In Bahia, as elsewhere among New World Negroes, extra-legal matings are common, and have a special designation to distinguish them from legal unions, to which the word "marriage" is given. Thus in Haiti, the system is termed *plaçage*; in Trinidad, a couple who live together as in this way are called "keepers"; in Bahia, the institution termed *mancebia* (concubinage) in literary Portuguese, is locally called by the better known word *amásia* (from which are derived the forms *amasiado*, *amasiada*, applied to the man or woman living in this relationship).¹⁰ As elsewhere, though it is held in somewhat less esteem than the regular marriage form, it is far from being an index of demoralization.¹¹ If anything, its continuation can be ascribed, here as elsewhere in Negro America, to economic forces, which have reinforced historical drives and traditional derivations.¹² The *amásia* mating is simple

to arrange, solves the problem of the desire for permanent relationship and for children, does all this at an economic level which is within the reach of those concerned, and affords a union that has social sanction.

This last point is essential. As far as the Negroes are concerned, matings of these kinds are marriages. In many cases they last a life-time.¹³ In other instances they take on a less permanent character, enduring for a year, two years, five years; then the man and woman part to find new mates.

The formal investigation into a young man's or young woman's background, personal and family reputation, that is a requisite to marriage in Africa, understandably is absent in the *amásia* mating. This may occur where legal marriages are contemplated, and is not too common even in these cases. If we recall the Dahomean marriage forms of "free" mating, which are often contracted without parental consent, it is apparent that this tradition, and the economic position of the Afro-Bahian woman,¹⁴ explain why "more than half of the women" members of the families interviewed by Frazier, "met their mates at work, casually on the street, or at various festivals." In Bahia, moreover, many of the *amásia* relationships are entered into by persons who had been legally married, but who have left their wives or, more often, their husbands. Divorce, in this Catholic setting, is impossible; the new union is therefore effected on the level of folk-mating, and bigamy avoided.

African patterns of polygyny have by no means disappeared. Plural marriage is not called by this name, and takes some probing to uncover. The *amásia* mating, however, provides the mechanism which permits the tradition to remain a living one. Of course, for a married man to maintain a mistress is

which has grown up among the poorer classes because of the cost of a church or civil marriage."

¹³ Frazier's material amply documents this, some of the couples he studied having been living together fifteen to twenty years, and having reared large families.

¹⁴ Cf. M. and F. Herskovits, "The Negroes of Brazil," *Yale Review*, Vol. XXXII (1943), pp. 264-266.

¹⁰ This is presumably the type of mating Frazier means when he speaks of a woman "living 'maritally' with a man."

¹¹ Frazier's finding that a "weakness of institutional controls" exists for Bahian social structure is not strengthened when he tells us that only two out of the forty women he interviewed were living casually with men, and they were ashamed of the fact; while "the women who were living 'maritally' with their 'husbands' exhibited the same pride as a woman who had entered a civil or a church marriage" (p. 476, n. 19).

¹² This fact is recognized by Frazier: "It appears to be a customary form of marriage relationship

no novelty in the European scene, nor must it be forgotten that under slavery a master often had two families, one white and one Negro, and that, in any event, his female slaves were always accessible to him. These are factors which have reinforced aboriginal custom, which finds expression not only in the case of men who have a legal wife and two or three *amasiadas*, each with her children, but in those of men who visit more than one *amasiada* in turn, and are not legally married at all.

The common finding among New World Negroes, that children are closer to their mothers than to their fathers applies to the Afro-Bahians, and is most clearly indicated by the fact that when a union is broken, the children almost invariably go with the mother. So regularly does this method of disposing of children occur, and so recognized is it by the people as the proper procedure, that it demonstrates the presence of a living, functioning pattern which governs this particular aspect of social behavior. Where the children belong in such cases is not even open to question, and few instances contrary to the rule were encountered among the many observed or discussed.

It is important to understand the role of the father and the attitudes toward him. Where broken homes represent a pathological phenomenon, and the children are retained by the mother, the father disappears from the scene. But in the Afro-Bahian convention, the role of the father, most important while the family remains intact, is often continued when he leaves. It is rare for a mother to teach her children to hate their father even when parents have become bitter enemies on parting; it is held to be spiritually harmful to the child for her to impart such an attitude. In the same way, though she may strongly resent a man with whom she lives having another mate, her children will not be permitted to quarrel with the offspring of their father's other wife. Even after separation, the children visit and may be visited by their father.

Instance after instance of this was observed, or came out in conversation, as when a man would say, "Of course, my father and

mother don't live together any more, but I go to see him now and then," or when a half-brother and -sister would come with their common father, amicably to discuss their Afro-Bahian ways of life, or to record the songs of their African cult-groups. A woman is expected to call in the husband who no longer lives with her when his child merits a major punishment; a man customarily provides clothing and contributes toward the maintenance of his child by a woman from whom he has separated; and woe to the child who speaks ill of his father before his mother!

Most revealing of all are the duties wives and children owe the spirit of a dead husband and father. The *egun*, the ghost, exacts its tribute in almost complete African fashion. Though only a widow wears mourning, and an *amasiada* does not, all of a man's children, by no matter what women, must wear full mourning. The oldest son of the legally married wife, if there is one, or of the oldest *amasiada*, becomes family head, and must see to it that the junior members do not want. There is none other than the moral obligation to do this, yet belief is strong and, in any event, a man would fear his father's *egun*.

Offerings to the dead man's soul expresses the inner unity of the group which had a common husband and father. These offerings are given at the death-rites which separate a member of an African religious sect from his cult-groups, and on the first, third, and seventh anniversary of his death. On these occasions all must contribute—the wife, the *amasiadas*, their children. A woman who has remarried or remated will, if necessary, ask her new husband to aid her in amassing the necessary sum; and he must contribute for fear of the dead if he refuse. Here there is no quarreling; all the women and children, under the leadership of the man's senior mate or oldest son unite amicably to see that the death-rites, not alone of the African cults, but in the form of masses for the souls of the dead, are adequately provided for.

IV. It is apparent that the picture of the

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Afro-Bahian family drawn by Frazier differs widely from that sketched here. And this brings us once more to the methodological problem raised at the outset of this discussion. On the basis of considerable experience among Negro groups, it is to be doubted whether the kind of interview technique he describes as having been employed in his study can yield very satisfactory results when applied to these folk. The point is best documented in terms of the very persons whose family histories are given by Frazier. For in a city the size of Bahia, it is not difficult to recognize descriptions of individuals, even when they are treated anonymously.

The case we are to analyze is that of the "big, black single woman" twenty-three years old, a *filha de santo* (cult initiate);¹⁵ a seamstress; a member of the Catholic church; living in the family of her father's nephew, who is a strict disciplinarian. As far as it goes, this checks with the findings of this research, if the total impression given by the phrasing of the description is disregarded. This matter of shading is important, as is to be seen from the following: our subject, as has been said, is a cult-initiate, "but went regularly to the Catholic church"; when, as a young orphan, she was taken into the cult "she learned a few African words, the meaning of which she had no knowledge." "She said she was a virgin and observed her *obrigações*, or certain ceremonies, in regard to foods and other rites connected with the Candomblé." Finally, "As to the future, she wanted to be married in the Catholic church and have children if it were the will of God."

One of the objectives of this research in Bahia was the recording of Negro songs. Most of the records were made by teams who became familiar with the technique employed, each group being composed of singers and drummers, usually consisting of members of a single family. One of these teams was the family to which this girl belongs.

If there is any other family in Bahia which, on the surface, is more acculturated to European ways of life, and at the same time more devoted to African cult-practices, it would be

difficult to find it. The husband and father, this girl's father's nephew, is a renowned drummer at the cult rites, and has been principal *ogan*, or male official, of one of the most orthodox Afro-Bahian cult-groups. His wife, who dresses carefully in the European manner and never wears the traditional Bahian Negro woman's costume except in her house, is herself a priestess; though at the time of Frazier's visit, she only functioned as a diviner and curer, and had not attained this higher status. In the house of this family are numerous shrines, all skilfully concealed from casual visitors.

The "big, black single woman" plays her full rôle in this scene. In singing for the recording instrument, she was the soloist, since her knowledge of cult-songs is wide and her voice good. At one quite esoteric rite witnessed at this house, she led the singing as she did at the laboratory. She knows, and gave a list of, over one hundred words and phrases in Nago, the West African Yoruban tongue, and their translation; the words of almost all the dozens of songs she recorded are in this language. Like all members of the Afro-Bahian cults she is a good Catholic; but she is already preparing for her seventh anniversary cult-rites, which are the most elaborate an initiate must give, and after which she becomes a senior cult-member. Our subject does indeed wish to marry "in the Church" and have children. But she has another ambition. This is to become a *mãe pequena* in a good cult-house; that is, she desires to be an assistant priestess. She is a modest young woman; her god, she says, has not yet manifested the knowledge or power to permit her to be a future *mãe de santo*!

This example has been considered at some length, because it so clearly illustrates the methodological deficiencies of the interview technique as employed by Frazier. This is especially the case when its user is handicapped, as in the study of New World Negro groups, by the acceptance of an hypothesis concerning the disappearance of African traits which renders it difficult for him to discern them when he comes on them, or to evaluate their importance if he does see them.

On the basis of the materials in the preceding section, it would seem that Frazier's statement, "African patterns of family life have tended to disappear" is something less than fact, and that the "either-or" position

¹⁵ Frazier's acceptance and use of the translation "daughter in saintliness" is unfortunate; so is his use of "father in saintliness" for *pai de santo*. This latter term, for instance, is actually a literal translation of the Yoruban *babalorisha* ("father of the gods"), and the English equivalent is "priest."

implied in Frazier's second conclusion cited at the outset of this paper overlooks the well-recognized process of syncretism that provides the means to reconcile African and European divergencies in tradition.

Frazier's third conclusion is difficult to understand. What, indeed, makes of the Afro-Bahian family a "natural organization"?

In the vast majority of cases, the father and husband was an artisan earning about fifty cents per day who rented a house and a small plot of land for his family. In about a fourth of the families, there were three children who were cared for by their mothers during the day while their fathers were at work.

Are these its characteristics? The untenability of the hypothesis of the "weakness of institutional controls" has been demonstrated in the preceding section. If one but knows where to look for these controls, or how to analyze them when one finds them, they are not difficult to describe. Is the "natural family" indeed, to be considered as one manifestation of them?

The final point, concerning the absence of "rigid, consistent patterns of behavior that can be traced to African culture" where family relationships are concerned, involves a concept of culture open to serious objec-

tion. How "rigid" is any series of socialized behavior patterns? Have not the lessons taught by years of studying social institutions in various cultures demonstrated that variability in behavior, rather than rigidity, is the rule? Is it possible that Frazier implies that the customs of nonliterate folk (Africans are, from this point of view to be classed as "primitives"), are in the nature of the outmoded concept of the cultural strait-jacket? As far as the consistency of the Afro-Bahian patterns of family life is concerned, it must at least be recognized that they are consistent enough to permit their being outlined in the manner in which they have been here. If one goes back over the data in Frazier's paper itself with this point in mind, these same patterns can be found either implicit in the materials, or explicitly stated.

In the final analysis, we are dealing with an acculturative situation, and the past of the Afro-Bahians being what it is, greater variation in any phase of custom is to be looked for than in the indigenous cultures either of Africa or Europe. But in studying this situation it must never be forgotten that variation does not mean demoralization, and that accommodation, institutional no less than psychological, is not prevented by the fact of cultural syncretization.

REJOINDER BY E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

This rejoinder to Professor Herskovits' criticism of my article is written simply because the facts which I gathered in Brazil do not support his conclusions. It is not written because, as he has stated in his *The Myth of the Negro Past* (p. 31), I belong among those Negroes who "accept as a compliment the theory of a complete break with Africa." It is a matter of indifference to me personally whether there are African survivals in the United States or Brazil. Therefore, if there were a "methodological blind spot imported from the United States," it was due to my ignorance of African culture or my lack of skill in observing it. However, it should be pointed out that Professor Herskovits was interested in discovering Africanisms and that I was only interested in African survivals so far as they affected the organization and adjustment of the Negro family to the Brazilian environment.

I must emphasize here what I stated in my paper, namely, that the majority of the families that I studied represented all degrees of racial mixtures involving whites, Negroes, and Indians. Therefore, when the designation Negro was used, it was used in the sense in which we use the term in the United States. I did not find in Bahia any group of Negroes of pure blood or blacks who were isolated from white, yellow, and brown people. It is possible, of course, that Professor Herskovits found such groups and among such groups African culture traits were apparent in their family life. I was careful to state that my conclusions should be tested by further research. But even if allowance is made for the possibility that Professor Herskovits studied a different group of Negroes, there are certain phases of his criticisms which cannot go unanswered.

First, I would like to point out that if what

I said about the woman who stated that her great grandmother was of Ewe-Mahin origin is read in its context, his remarks about Gold Coast Negroes are irrelevant. I know as well as Professor Herskovits that Gold Coast Negroes were not imported into Brazil in large numbers. My remark was simply that the manner in which the *candomblé* was inherited might lead one to speculate upon the influence of African culture. Secondly, I would like to emphasize that it was not my intention to give a picture of complete family disorganization among the so-called Negroes. As I undertook to show in my article, the family among these people did not have an institutional character but grew out of association of men and women in a relationship which was based upon personal inclinations and habit. Although it is customary for men and women to initiate family life in such a manner, I found no evidence that their behavior was due to African customs. White men and women of the lower class form exactly the same type of unions. This behavior has grown up among lower class Brazilians because of certain social and economic factors. As stated in my article, these people speak of themselves as living together "*maritalmente*" or "*marriedly*." For some reason Professor Herskovits does not seem to be acquainted with this term. He states that I must be referring to the relationship of "*amasiado*." My informants as well as persons acquainted with family relations among this group assured me that there was an important difference between the two relationships. The relationship known as "*amasiado*" is more of a free love relationship, whereas when people live "*maritalmente*" their relationship is regarded as conjugal. In the former relationship a man may only visit his "*amásia*," but when a man lives "*maritalmente*" with a woman he lives with her and assumes the responsibility for the support of her and her children. As stated in my article, these so-called "common-law marriages" (my term) often grow out of pregnancy or when a man has deflowered a girl and he either voluntarily or at the demand of her parents makes a home for her and assumes the responsibility of a husband. In such practices one can observe the influence of Brazilian culture which is intensely patriarchal. Moreover, I found no evidence for Professor Herskovits' statement that blacks exercise more surveillance over the sex behavior of their daughters than persons of lighter color. The amount of surveillance is a matter of class, the members of the upper and middle classes—black, brown, or white—showing more regard for the sex be-

havior of their daughters than members of the lower class.

Professor Herskovits has objected to the case which I cited as an illustration of the manner in which the African heritage has disintegrated and has been lost. In my analysis I made clear that when my informant's father took five wives and built houses for them, he was behaving in accordance with his African heritage. But when my informant first had a child in Africa (where incidentally he learned some of his Yoruba in a Mission school) and later in Brazil had about twenty children as the result of casual sex relations, the African heritage had begun to disintegrate and lose its meaning. The children whose mothers were of diverse racial origin and for whom no home was provided by the father had no opportunity to take over his African heritage. The sex behavior of my informant was obviously promiscuous; and certainly Professor Herskovits would not say that promiscuous sex behavior, except where it was ritualistically controlled, was an African culture trait. During his residence in Brazil, my informant was becoming a Brazilian, for when he got married he married in the Catholic church and settled down as a respectable Brazilian. I am not prepared to say how far my informant's attitudes toward sex and marital relations were still influenced by his African heritage but his overt behavior conformed to Brazilian standards.

The mobility of this informant provides a good transition to what I have to say concerning another claim which Professor Herskovits makes concerning the persistence of African traits in the families of Brazilian Negroes. In my paper I showed that the spouses in the families which I studied had met casually at work, at festivals and even in the street. To me this meant that the increasing mobility of Brazilian life had caused marriage or mating to be a fortuitous affair. But according to Professor Herskovits this is an African culture heritage! Moreover, in regard to my assertion that there is no consistent pattern of marriage and mating Professor Herskovits offers the objection that I have a mistaken notion of culture among primitive people; that in fact primitive culture shows variations. If culture is defined as patterns of behavior there must be some consistency in behavior or otherwise behavior is the result of the fortuitous operation of impulses. In fact, it seems that Professor Herskovits rules out human impulses, spontaneous emotions, and sentiments generated through the association of members in the same household. He seems to ridicule

the idea that the family may come into existence as a "natural organization." From my studies of the Negro family in the southern States I am convinced that without the operation of institutional controls, the family group often develops as the result of the interaction between spouses and children in the same household.

Professor Herskovits thinks that he has identified the young woman whose genealogy I gave in my article and contradicts my statement that she knew only a few African words which she had learned in candomblé. After going over my records I have found that he has not identified the young woman though I have a record of the young woman he mentions. Concerning the foster parents of the young woman whom he mentions he makes the statement: "If there is any other family in Bahia which, on the surface, is more acculturated to European ways of life, and at the same time more devoted to African cult-practices, it would be difficult to find it." I visited this family nearly every day and I knew its members very well. I was acquainted with the shrines which were "all skillfully concealed from casual visitors." I knew also that the "wife" who is a mixed-blood was originally possessed by an Indian god and that people said that she was crazy; but that her "husband" when he secured her to live "maritalmente" with him convinced her that it was an African god. Moreover, her husband who is black and knows nothing of his parents did not receive his knowledge of African lore and skill in beating the drums through his parents. These facts as well as others which I have cited have been checked with the findings of Dr. Ruth Landes who spent over a year in Brazil and was intimately acquainted with this family.

Although problems of anthropology and ethnology cannot be settled by analysis of grammatical forms, I would like to answer Professor Herskovits' criticism of my translation of *pae-de-santo* which is the designation of the cult leader of the candomblé. According to Professor Herskovits my translation of this term as "father-in-saintliness" is unfortunate because it really means "father of the god." In the Portuguese language, the preposition "de" without the article is used with a noun to denote quality. Therefore, I translated the terms *pae-de-santo*, *mãe-de-santo*, and *filha-de-santo* as "father-in-saintliness" (sainted father or holy father), "mother-in-saintliness" and "daughter-in-saintliness." In the Portuguese dictionary the term *pae-de-santo* is incidentally given as an example of the use of *santo* as an adjective. (See *Pequeno dicionário brasileiro da língua portuguesa*.

2. Edição. Rio de Janeiro, 1939, p. 923.) Professor Herskovits made the mistake (see his *The Myth of the Negro Past*, p. 220) of writing *filha-do-santo* instead of *filha-de-santo*. The term *filha-do-santo*, translated literally would be daughter of the god because "do" is the contracted form of the preposition "de" and the definite article "o." But *filha-de-santo* means "holy daughter" just as "uma casa de madeira" means "a wooden house." A Brazilian and an American anthropologist have both translated the term *pae-de-santo* into English as "father-in-saintliness." (See Ruth Landes, "Fetish Worship in Brazil," *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 53 (Oct.-Dec. 1940), pp. 261-270; and Edison Carneiro, "The Structure of African cults in Bahia," *ibid.*, pp. 271-278.) However, I wish to emphasize that I did not depend upon the Portuguese grammar for a translation of these terms. I tried to find out what the terms *pae-de-santo*, *mãe-de-santo*, *filha-de-santo* meant to the people themselves. In no case did I find that these terms meant father-, mother-, or daughter-of-the-god. So far as I was able to get their meaning, *santo* meant a quality which they acquired. In fact, one *pae-de-santo* told me that he was really only a *zelador* or *zealot* because there was only one who was *santo* or holy and he dwelt on high. This remark undoubtedly revealed the influence of Catholicism which has been fused with the beliefs and practices of cult.

After reading Professor Herskovits' paper I see no reason to change the conclusions stated in my article, though they are tentative and should be tested by further research. There may be some ritualistic practices of African origin connected with the sex and family life of the Negroes which I did not discover. It is not without interest that there can be no dispute about African survivals in the candomblé. In the case of the candomblé it is easy to observe and record African survivals, whereas Professor Herskovits' statement concerning African family survivals are chiefly inferences based upon speculation. Even in the candomblés, as Carneiro points out (*loc. cit.*, pp. 277-78), African traditions and practices are disappearing. So far as the pattern of the family is concerned, I am still convinced that African influences have on the whole disappeared and that the type of family organization which we find among the Negroes whom I studied has grown up in response to economic and social conditions in Brazil. The African survivals which one finds among the upper class black families such as the eating of certain foods and in their music is a part of the national culture of Brazil.

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SEX, EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES ON MORAL JUDGMENTS RELATIVE TO THE FAMILY

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The Cuber-Pell situational method, used with 888 persons, indicates a high degree of agreement of men and women, but with greater conservatism among the women, and a double standard of sex morality.

There is no evidence of any uniformity of judgment setting the college group apart from the non-college. Catholics are most conservative, Protestants intermediate, and Jews most liberal.

IT is a truism of social psychology that our attitudes come to be part of us through the interplay of inherited capacities and of the psycho-social environment. It is generally assumed that there are so many different sets of attitudes as there are persons. It is necessary, if a society is to exist, that people have similar, if not identical, attitudes regarding similar situations. If the folkways are to have effective compulsive force to achieve a morality it is requisite that there be considerable consensus of judgment about many types of behavior. It would appear to be of value to determine which of the culture complexes in which we live are of primary importance in the development of our standards of morality regarding any of our institutions.

The data which follow represent an attempt to determine whether and to what extent differences in sex, college attendance, and religious affiliation are reflected in moral judgments relative to the family; and, conversely, to determine whether there are any points which show such strong agreement that it is possible to see the existence of demonstrable consensus concerning them.

The method and questions used were those of Cuber and Pell for Studying Moral Judgments.¹ Respondents were presented with twelve situations relating to family morality. The situations or cases were descriptions of people who were doing definite things, and

are summarized as follows: Situation (1) describes a non-erotic friendship of a married woman and an unmarried man; (2) concerns pre-marital sex relations of an engaged couple; (3) briefly summarizes the "Back Street" problem; (4) tells of non-erotic extra-marital affairs of a married couple; (5) of a husband's infidelity that is known to the wife; (6) is the Jane Eyre situation; (7) deals with a married couple who spend their vacations apart; (8) is about a woman who married for comfort and status, not for love; (9) deals with a college student who solves his sex problems by visiting prostitutes; (10) with a "complete and frank man-woman relationship"; (11) raises the question of the morality of birth control; (12) presents the problem of divorce because the marriage no longer is satisfactory.²

The twelve situations involve approximately twenty-five hypothetical persons. After each situation the respondent was asked one or more questions of the form: "Is this wrong for —?" and was allowed to check yes, no, or uncertain. There are twenty-five questions with a total of seventy-five possible responses. During the school term 1941-42 this set of situations was presented to three groups of respondents totaling 888; 347 were students in the sociology department of the University of Pennsylvania, and were for the most part residents of urban areas along the eastern seaboard. One hundred and thirty-five were sociology students in a Pennsylvania Teachers College located

¹ John F. Cuber and Betty Pell, "A Method for Studying Moral Judgments Relating to the Family," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol XLVII (July 1941), pp. 12-23.

² For the entire questionnaire, see *ibid.*, pp. 15-19.

in a rural part of the state. Most of these students were from the surrounding rural and village area. Four hundred and seventeen responses were from a group of Philadelphians heterogeneous in age, education, nationalistic background, religion, and occupation who were enrolled in a course in psy-

SEX DIFFERENCE IN RESPONSE

Table 1 presents the responses "yes," "no," "uncertain," in percentages, to the twenty-five questions. Rank-order correlations could have been made, and were made for a pilot study which has been reported elsewhere,³ but were not made here because

TABLE 1. MORAL JUDGMENTS QUESTIONNAIRE, MALE-FEMALE RESPONSES—PERCENTAGE*

Situation and Question Number	Yes		No		Uncertain	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1a.....	16	16	†80	79	4	5
1b.....	20	19	†75	73	5	8
2a.....	*52	75	*39	18	9	7
2b.....	*45	69	*45	21	10	10
3a.....	58	62	32	23	10	15
3b.....	59	57	31	27	10	16
4a.....	†67	72	25	17	8	11
4b.....	62	70	25	18	8	12
4c.....	†75	73	19	15	6	12
4d.....	†70	72	22	16	8	12
5a.....	†72	67	20	25	8	8
5b.....	24	24	64	66	12	8
5c.....	†68	75	22	17	10	8
6a.....	12	11	†81	80	7	10
6b.....	17	14	†78	76	5	10
7a.....	52	47	40	40	8	13
7b.....	54	48	38	39	8	13
8.....	65	57	*24	34	11	9
9.....	*30	41	*60	43	10	16
10a.....	37	46	*55	42	8	12
10b.....	34	39	*59	47	7	14
11.....	*38	26	54	64	8	10
12a.....	45	44	45	44	10	12
12b.....	23	28	69	59	8	13
12c.....	56	52	34	32	10	16

* Total number of responses: 378 Male, 481 Female.

chology give under the auspices of an adult education program. Of the 888 respondents, 378 were male and 510 were female; 482 were college students, 406 were non-college people. In religious affiliation, 135 were Catholic, 398 were Protestant, and 355 were Jewish. Because of the disparity of numbers, discussion of the responses is in terms of percentages.

such correlations present an over-all measurement of agreement but do not show the extent of agreement or disagreement on specific questions. Nor does rank correlation show differences in intensity of response by

³A. H. Jones, "A Method for Studying Moral Judgments—Further Considerations," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVIII (January 1943), pp. 492-497.

categories. That is to say that two categories may show a very high rank-order correlation even though one category may disapprove of the behavior in a majority of responses and the other group of respondents disapprove much less frequently. Because of this and because it was believed to be

possible: there can be a great amount of agreement; or there can be no agreement, that is, the culture of the two groups may be so different that each case will be considered without regard for a common cultural background. Those types of behavior that are most nearly universally thought

TABLE 2. MORAL JUDGMENTS QUESTIONNAIRE PERCENTAGE RESPONSES—COLLEGE, NON-COLLEGE*

Situation and Question Number	Yes		No		Uncertain	
	College	Non-College	College	Non-College	College	Non-College
1a.....	16	19	†80	76	4	5
1b.....	21	21	†75	69	5	9
2a.....	*58	44	*34	51	9	5
2b.....	53	62	34	29	12	8
3a.....	62	56	24	32	13	11
3b.....	*63	51	*23	35	13	12
4a.....	†65	73	22	19	11	7
4b.....	64	72	23	19	11	8
4c.....	†71	75	17	17	10	7
4d.....	†67	74	20	17	11	8
5a.....	†67	70	23	24	8	5
5b.....	24	30	67	63	7	5
5c.....	*58	74	30	20	12	5
6a.....	26	13	*61	80	12	6
6b.....	12	17	†77	76	9	6
7a.....	50	48	37	43	11	9
7b.....	51	48	35	43	12	9
8.....	61	55	26	35	11	8
9.....	*41	29	*45	56	12	14
10a.....	44	39	45	51	9	10
10b.....	39	32	49	57	11	10
11.....	31	31	57	62	10	6
12a.....	44	44	44	44	10	11
12b.....	24	26	66	58	7	14
12c.....	51	52	34	31	12	15

* Total number of responses: 532 College, 374 Non-college.

more important to show the specific questions on which there was disagreement or consensus, tables are presented with the points of disagreement marked with an asterisk (*) and points of consensus indicated by a dagger (†).

Two kinds of pattern of distribution are

right by one group may be almost universally considered to be wrong by the other. Table 1 shows clearly that men and women in our culture feel the same way about the same things except in certain cases where the traditional double standard of sex morality still exists. More females than males

disapprove of premarital sex relations of engaged persons (2a and b) and of males visiting prostitutes (9). More males than females did not disapprove of frank and complete man-woman relationship without marriage (10a and b). More males than females disapproved of the woman who married for position and security rather than for affection (8). It is possible to say for these data and for this heterogeneous group that in more than four-fifths of the situations there was agreement of males and females within 10 percent. This agreement is significant as an indication of attitudinal solidarity.

There are many difficulties involved in determining what constitutes the consensus of the opinion of any group. This investigator is aware of the effect of prestige, class, fashion, and other phenomena. But for the purpose at hand these factors have not been considered. It was decided that consensus should be considered to exist when a minimum of 65 percent of the respondents of both groups gave the same answer to a given question. Sixty-five percent was chosen because it is for all purposes two-thirds of the group, because it would require a considerable shift from that point to abolish the majority in favor of the position taken, and because it is not necessary, though it may be desirable, for unanimity to exist in order to have consensus.

Taking 65 percent as the consensus point, it is seen that there are nine points in the Male-Female comparison (Table 1) which meet the requirement. Males and females agreed with this majority that it was wrong for a married woman with a child to have an extra-marital affair (4a). These respondents also disapproved of a doctor having an affair with a married patient (4c) and for a girl to have an affair with a married man (4d). In Situations 5a and 5c, males and females were agreed that it is wrong for a man to have an extra-marital affair, and wrong for a single woman to have an affair with a married man. The behavior in Cases 1a and b and 6a and b was approved by 65 percent of the males and females.

It is possible to conclude, concerning the

factor of sex difference and moral judgment: (a) That there is close agreement concerning the types of behavior described in the twelve cases.

(b) That the types of behavior upon which there is least agreement are those in which the traditional double standard of sex morality appears most strongly.

(c) That generally the females disapproved more frequently than the males of the behavior described, *i.e.*, in all but seven cases. If disapproval be considered the expression of a conservative point of view and non-disapproval the equivalent of a liberal point of view, then the opinions of females, as might be expected, were more conservative than those of the males.⁴

(d) That there was a very strong agreement in a substantial majority of both groups concerning nine of the seventy-five possible responses.

(e) That the great majority of the respondents knew how they felt about each of these situations. In only four of the situations did as many as 15 percent of the females indicate uncertainty, and in no case were as many as 15 percent of the males uncertain.

(f) Both male and female responses show clearly the strength of traditional standards of moral judgment relative to the family. This group is similar to others studied elsewhere in its expression of a generally conservative position.⁵

COLLEGE—NON-COLLEGE

The second comparison was made in order to discover the effect of college attendance as a factor influencing the expression of moral judgment. This point is of considerable importance to social psychology because so much of its experimental data deal with

⁴ George A. Lundberg, "Sex Differences on Social Questions," *School and Society*, Vol. XXIII (May 8, 1926), pp. 595-600.

⁵ In this connection, see E. B. Skaggs, "Sex Differences in Moral Attitudes," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. XI (1940), pp. 3-10; W. S. Bernard, "Student Attitudes on Marriage and the Family," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. III (1938), pp. 354-361; D. Katz and F. H. Allport, *Student's Attitudes* (Syracuse, New York, The Craftsman Press, 1931), pp. 252-253.

the behavior of college or university students. If it can be shown that so far as attitudes, values, moral judgments are concerned, college groups are representative groups, then the results of such experimental

applicability. The percentage responses of these two groups are presented in Table 2.

It is seen that there is a divergence of more than 10 percent in the disapprovals of Case 2a, which is the question relating to

TABLE 3. MORAL JUDGMENTS QUESTIONNAIRE
RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCE AS REFLECTED IN RESPONSES
PERCENTAGE CATHOLIC, PROTESTANT, JEWISH^a

Situation and Question Number	Yes			No			Uncertain		
	Catholic	Protestant	Jewish	Catholic	Protestant	Jewish	Catholic	Protestant	Jewish
1a.....	23	15	15	†74	80	80	3	5	5
1b.....	26	19	18	†70	76	72	4	5	10
2a.....	*79	66	58	*13	26	35	8	8	7
2b.....	*73	62	48	*15	29	42	12	9	10
3a.....	*69	68	48	*18	21	39	13	11	13
3b.....	*66	65	47	*21	23	39	13	12	14
4a.....	†73	70	68	16	21	23	11	9	9
4b.....	†71	69	68	18	21	23	11	10	9
4c.....	†75	74	73	15	17	19	10	9	8
4d.....	†77	70	69	13	20	21	10	10	10
5a.....	†77	66	71	17	25	21	6	9	8
5b.....	32	25	27	64	65	67	4	10	6
5c.....	*†80	70	70	16	20	21	4	10	9
6a.....	23	11	7	*†65	79	89	12	10	4
6b.....	31	16	9	*59	76	86	10	8	5
7a.....	*57	52	44	34	37	46	9	11	10
7b.....	*57	54	44	33	33	46	10	13	10
8.....	58	62	59	33	27	31	9	11	10
9.....	*54	49	16	*34	37	72	12	14	12
10a.....	*57	45	32	*33	45	57	10	10	11
10b.....	*55	40	25	*39	48	67	6	12	8
11.....	*52	50	30	*39	40	63	9	10	7
12a.....	*58	45	40	*34	43	50	8	12	10
12b.....	24	28	23	68	62	65	8	10	12
12c.....	42	*51	33	*43	36	56	15	13	11

* Total number of responses: 135 Catholic, 398 Protestant, 355 Jewish.

tion could be given much more general acceptance. If it should appear that college groups respond quite differently, it would then be necessary to recognize a social psychology based on investigations carried out with college students as one with very lim-

pre-marital sex relations for an engaged girl, 3b which inquires about the rightness of the behavior of the man in the "Back Street" situation, 5c dealing with the outside woman in a triangle, and 9 which is the case of the young man who patronizes prostitutes. The

divergences which occur in the "no" column are, as might be expected, related to almost the same set of cases 2a, 3b, 6a and 9. Question 6a asks the respondents to check their opinions of Mr. Rochester's behavior with Jane Eyre. In 47 of the 75 cases there was agreement within five percent as to disapproval, non-disapproval, and uncertainty.

Consensus is less frequently noted in the comparison of college with non-college groups than in the previous comparison made on the basis of sex difference. In the present groups there were four types of behavior which were disapproved by 65 percent or more of both groups. They disapprove of a married woman patient who has an affair with her doctor, of the doctor and of the girl who is in love with the husband of the aforesaid woman (4a, c, d). More than the minimum necessary for consensus also disapprove of a married man who has an affair with a woman not married (5a). On the non-disapproval side more than 65 percent agree regarding the friendship of a married woman and an unmarried man (Case 1a and b) and also of the behavior of Jane Eyre (6b).

It is possible to conclude from these data that there is no reason to believe that attendance at college results in any uniformity of moral judgment that would serve to set the college group apart from the non-college group. The only suggestions of the possible influence of college attendance may be seen in the "uncertain" column where it is shown that slightly more of the college group were uncertain about more of the situations; in Case 5c where it appears that college students are *more* tolerant of the behavior of the outside woman who has an affair with a married man with the consent of the wife; and in Case 9 in which it appears that college students are *less* tolerant of the man's consorting with prostitutes before marriage. The evidence here is both sufficiently strong and sufficiently consistent to validate the thesis that it is justifiable to accept the results of social psychological investigations carried out with college students as a generally acceptable psychology. Particularly would this seem true in the United States where all social classes are represented in

college, and these in turn reflect moral judgments derived from different and frequently opposing cultural backgrounds.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

The third comparison attempts to answer the question: To what extent do people of different religious affiliation express different sets of moral judgments? In the following data no attempt is made to break down the Protestant group into its many sects nor is any attempt made to show differences that may exist among the three main religious divisions of the Jews.

As may be seen from Table 3, there are many more points of divergence exceeding 10 percent here than there were in the previous two comparisons above, *i.e.*, 24 as compared to 10 in the Male-Female comparison and 8 in the College-Non-college comparison. The Catholic and Jewish responses fail to agree within 10 percent in 24 of the 75 situations and agree within 5 percent on 9 situations. The Catholic and Protestant responses diverge in excess of 10 percent on 12 situations and agree within 5 percent on 18 situations. The Protestant-Jewish comparison reveals a divergence of more than 10 percent on 19 of the questions and an agreement within 5 percent on 18 questions. It appears, then, that there is a much greater similarity of response relative to this type of moral judgment among Catholics and Protestants than among Jews and Gentiles. That is, Jews have expressed here moral judgments that differ considerably from both the other religious groups.

If we identify responses disapproving the behavior indicated as an expression of a conservative position in regard to moral judgment and identify the non-disapproval as liberal, we see at once that as concerns questions of family morality this Jewish group is more liberal than the non-Jewish group. This is the case in 40 of 50 opportunities to express conservative or liberal reactions. The most conservative of the three groups is the Catholic, as is seen by the fact that in 41 of 50 opportunities the Catholics were most conservative. It is not surprising to note that the Catholics and the

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Jews diverge most at those points (except divorce, Situation 12) on which the Catholic Church has expressed itself most definitely, i.e., pre-marital chastity (Case 2), extra-marital infidelity (Cases 3, 6, 10) and prostitution (Case 9). It is of interest to note that only 58 percent of the Catholics said that it was wrong for a woman who no longer loved her husband to divorce him (12a). As to whether the husband would be wrong to contest the divorce (12c), 42 percent of the Catholics answered "yes," 43 percent said "no," and 15 percent were uncertain. In the light of the teachings of their church on this point, a higher percentage of disapproval might be expected. The absence of unanimity of response from Catholics relative to the question of birth control (Situation 11) may be explained by the position of the church in its acceptance of the Rhythm Method of limiting family size.⁶

There are two possibilities in addition to religious influence which may account for the liberal character of the Jewish responses. First, a selective factor may be at work here with the result that the Jews represented in this sample are those least affected by the teachings of their religion. Second, it is possible that the Jewish group answered more nearly in agreement with their behavior than either of the other groups. However, as to either of these possibilities there is no evidence. It would be possible to collect evidence relative to the problem of selectivity, but I see no way at present to measure the second or degree of institutionalization of response.

When the responses are arranged accord-

⁶ It is noteworthy that the question in situation 11 does not refer to the use of any particular method of avoiding reproduction. The church definitely teaches that it is not the avoidance of reproduction that is evil, but the use of unnatural, mechanical or chemical means to accomplish this end that is wrong. The teachings of the church on this point are clear and definite, avoid reproduction if you wish but by natural means only.

ing to religious affiliation it is seen that in spite of considerable divergence there is also considerable agreement. On nine of the seventy-five responses there is sufficient agreement to constitute consensus as we have defined it. Six of these ten items represent actions disapproved by these representatives of all three religious groups. All six bear on the fact of marital infidelity. All four items in Situation 4 and items a and c in Situation 5 are in the disapproved group. Of the three approved types of behavior, two approve of non-erotic friendship of a married woman and an unmarried man (Situation 1) and the other approves of Mr. Rochester in the Jane Eyre situation (6a).

CONCLUSIONS

a. Among religious groups there are more points of disagreement as to moral judgment relative to the family than among the other two comparisons here made.

b. Catholics tend to be conservative in their responses and tend to be most conservative on those points about which the church has taken a definite position.⁷

c. Jews tend to be more liberal than either Catholics or Protestants.⁸

d. Uncertainty was of no vital significance for any of the three groups. Of the three groups, the Protestants expressed the greatest amount of uncertainty, the Catholics and Jews about an equal amount.

e. In spite of the great differences shown, there is present consensus in regard to nine situations. This group of nine situations represents those types of behavior concerning which there is substantial agreement at the present time. It is possible therefore to say that in these areas the present culture shows a high degree of integration.

⁷ These findings are in agreement with those of Hilding B. Carlson, "Attitudes of Undergraduate Students," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. V, pp. 202-212.

⁸ *Ibid.*

PARENT-CHILD CONFLICT IN MINNESOTA FAMILIES*

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Conflicts between aged parents and their children cannot be adequately explained by the traits of age or of youth or by the struggle for status between age groups. Specific disputes arise in the early years of each family and tend to persist throughout life. Their character is largely determined by the historical, cultural setting. Such conflicts may be diminished in the future by the disappearance of the rural pioneer mores or by reducing the dependence of the aged.

PURPOSE AND HYPOTHESIS

THE PURPOSE of this study is the analysis of conflict¹ between aged² parents and their offspring in 50 Minnesota families.³ A basic hypothesis is that it cannot be explained satisfactorily by factors that are peculiar to the period of old age, such as the typical personality traits of the parents or their struggle for status with younger age groups.⁴ Rather in each case, the specific disputes are the end part of a process of opposition that had its beginning in the early parent-child relations of the particular family. Furthermore, this process was in large measure determined by the cultural setting in which it took place. Thus it follows that the factors found associated with conflict might be historical and not of direct value in predicting the nature of family relations in the future generations. Nevertheless, the knowledge of these factors probably

would enable us to understand and modify the conflict among aged parents and their children⁵ in those families that had not yet completed the process begun under similar cultural conditions.

METHOD

Thirty old people living in Minneapolis and 20 living in Jackson, Minnesota,⁶ were interviewed from three to five times each. These visits usually lasted two hours and were sometimes as long as four hours. The subjects were asked about their family history from the time of birth to the time of the interview.⁷ The data cover, therefore, both the family into which they had been born and that which they themselves had reared.

For each of these two family situations, the old person was asked to respond at length to 42 general questions. Whenever the response was not satisfactory, additional questions were used. The answers were taken down verbatim.⁸ In almost all cases, the subject enjoyed reminiscing about family history without showing any reluctance to talk although aware that a record was being made of the conversation. As a check on the aged person's report on the relations in

*The term "children" as used in this study includes persons of both minor and adult status. All of the children of the subjects were at the time of the interviews over 25 years of age.

⁶Jackson's population was 2206 in 1930 and 2840 in 1940.

⁷Field work was done from April 1939 to May 1940.

⁸The case histories average about 15,000 words in length.

*Paper No. 472, Miscellaneous Journal Series, Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station.

¹For our purposes, conflict has been defined as a process in the interaction between parents and children in which one generation is openly critical or otherwise explicitly opposed to the behavior of the other.

²Persons who are 65 years of age or over are generally and for the purposes of this study considered as aged. See New York Commission on Old Age Security, *Old Age Security*, Albany, 1930, p. 83.

³Previous articles have been based on 40 cases. Ten additional ones have been added to the original group.

⁴For an explanation of conflict that emphasizes the factor of age position, see Kingsley Davis, "The Sociology of Parent-Child Conflict," *American Sociological Review*, August 1940, pp. 523-535.

the family he had reared, one of the children in each of 20 of the cases was also interviewed and asked similar questions.⁹

OLD AGE OF SUBJECTS

The family histories revealed much conflict between the aged parents and their children. The cases ranged from those that gave no evidence of even minor disagreements to those in which there had been a complete break in relations or an estrangement of the two generations.¹⁰ The conflict in 21 of the 50 cases was judged to have been serious in that it interfered substantially in the adjustment of the old person with one or more of his offspring.¹¹ The outstanding characteristic of the attitude of the aged parent in these 21 cases was a high degree of bitterness or resentment that had persisted for a long time.

Broadly viewed, the conflict of aged parents with their children was in large part a clash of different cultures.¹² The old people, having been born between 1855 and 1874 and having spent their youth in the midwestern states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, represented the rural ways of life, especially those of pioneer society. The young people, whether they had been reared in village or city, had been from early years

under the influence of urban stimuli, had acquired urban values, and expressed them in their attitudes and activities. That at the time of the interviews some of the old people lived in a large city and some of the children lived in an agricultural village had little to do with the mores in which they believed.

The disparity in the mores of the two generations was brought out in the replies of the subjects to the question: "What do you think of the way young people live nowadays?" In almost all cases, the answer expressed disapproval of the activities of the younger generation. Their smoking, drinking, dancing, staying out late at night, great expenditure of money, failure to attend church, inattention to their job, and sexually provocative ways of dressing were among the specific criticisms of the aged.

Even though many people may be aware that such differences exist, they often do not realize their extent nor the deep-rooted emotions of the aged that are aroused by them. For this reason and also because they constitute a key point in the explanation of conflict given in this paper, several illustrations from the case histories are presented below:

1. (F-75)¹³ I think they go too fast. They enjoy themselves and don't look out for the future. We never thought of that. These cars take an awful lot of money and all those movies and shows and all of that stuff.

2. (M-69) I don't know where they're going to land if they keep on. It doesn't look very good. The liquor business is about the worst thing we've got to contend with in the young people now.

3. (F-77) Such a great number of young folks can't be satisfied a minute unless they have something exciting; some place to go and do. I think they're living beyond their means. All they think about is style. They have to have the latest to wear and have the latest furniture in their home. They're bound to have it regardless of means.

4. (M-65) I believe the movies have their place, but I have no use for drinking. That is the stepping stone to hell itself for a great many people. I've seen lots of it. And the bathing beaches—take how the girls come out in one-

¹³ Sex and age of the subject.

⁹ A more detailed description of the methods used in this study has been given in Robert M. Dinkel, "Social Problems of Old People," *Sociology and Social Research*, January-February 1943, 27: 200-207.

¹⁰ The cases were ranked on the basis of relations with the child with whom the conflict had been most severe.

¹¹ The subjects checked from a list of problems those which had given them more than average trouble. The 21 cases of serious conflict checked more than twice the number of problems involving children than the 21 cases which had the least conflict. Thus there was a clear relation between the two measures of unsatisfactory adjustment with children.

¹² This factor may be considered a necessary, but not the sufficient cause of much of the conflict. The change from a rural to an urban culture increased the total amount of conflict in the group of cases by lowering the threshold of opposition. Why certain families and not others had serious trouble during such a transition in values will be discussed later in this paper.

piece suits. When I was their age, I wouldn't think of things like that.

5. (M-80) Well sir, I'm going to tell you. I don't know what the world is coming to. It really scares a man when he sees the present generation. Not only youth, but some of the older people too. I don't know what's going to happen. We might go back to barbarism again. It's surely enough to scare anybody when you see boys and girls sitting up around the bar and drinking.

The diverse mores of the two generations, as indicated in these quotations, were particularly likely to lead to the frustration of the old people and to conflict with their children, because they conceived their role in the family as giving them much more authority over the behavior of their offspring than the children were willing to grant. From their rural past, the subjects had the attitude that in such matters as referred to in the illustrations above the opinions of aged parents should be respected by their children. In some cases, the old person interpreted this as meaning that the children should obey him if he saw fit to issue commands. Usually, however, the view of the elder was that his position entitled him to be listened to by the young people without argument or ridicule on their part.

But when the parents remonstrated with their children, as they often thought it was their duty to do, the young people usually refused to play the submissive role as provided in the mores of the past. (Submissive at least to the extent of appearing to take the advice of their parents.) Instead they told their elders that they were in the wrong; that they were old fashioned, having failed to change with the times. When the children did not make this direct rebuttal, but brushed over or ignored the opinions of the aged parents, the result in terms of the adjustment of the old people in their family relations was often the same. They felt affronted and not wanted—a state of mind that is fertile soil for friction on other matters.

When persons differ greatly in their ideas of what is right and what is wrong and when they disagree on what role each should play

in their interaction, they often avoid conflict by the simple method of keeping away from each other. This solution was difficult for some of the families to achieve, because the two generations were drawn closely together not only by habit, but also by the cultural prescription that it is best for old people to be a part of the families of their children, participating with them in many of their activities and obtaining assistance when unable to take care of their personal needs or to support themselves.¹⁴ Identifying themselves in large degree with each other and tending to have frequent and intimate interaction, the two generations increased the probability of their conflict.¹⁵

The strong emotional dependence of aged parents upon their children that existed in spite of the differences between them can be noted in the following excerpts from the case histories.

1. (F-82) I tell you I wouldn't want to do without them. That's all I have to live for. I've often wondered what people do who don't have children.

2. (F-73) I think they're the most important thing in my life. I was so busy with the children when they were small I didn't make other connections. They mean the most of anything to me now and I think it's the same with my husband.

3. (F-77) I don't think that life was ever intended to be without children. We were created for that purpose. There's no affection in the home without children. Life isn't complete without them.

4. (F-68) They mean everything. What would I do without them? If I were gone, it would be awful hard for Mary and if she were gone, I couldn't do anything—I'd be through.

5. (M-66) Thinking about the children and being able to do something for them gives me my greatest pleasure. That's about the only thing I've got to think about you might say.

A summary of the argument developed so

¹⁴ See Flora Fox, "Family Life and Relationships as Affected by the Presence of the Aged," *Mental Hygiene in Old Age*, New York, 1937, p. 1.

¹⁵ Intimacy, continuity, and duration of contact as elements of conflict among family members are given by Meyer Nimkoff, "The Relation of Parental Dominance to Parent-Child Conflict," *Social Forces*, 1931, 9:559-563.

far shows that in many of the families studied the aged parents and their children believed in sets of mores which were incompatible and disagreed on the role of the elders in advising and correcting the younger people, but, nevertheless, tried to maintain a physical and psychological intimacy that gave ample opportunity for these irritants to take root and mature as major conflicts.

To avoid misinterpretation with regard to the cause of conflict, it should be noted that these elements were not found in every case, that they differed in intensity or extent in the cases in which present, and that other factors influenced the final outcome as conflict, accommodation, or other form of adjustment. Furthermore, it is quite conceivable that conflict could occur in cases in which these elements were absent or were present in only minor degree.

The position taken is that these factors occurred frequently in the cases studied, that they led to much conflict that would not otherwise have taken place, and that they are in large measure the result of the transition from the rural culture of the pioneer period to the modern urban culture that the families studied were living through.¹⁶

YOUTH OF OFFSPRING

It has also been stated as a key point that the explanation of conflict cannot be found in factors that are peculiar to the old age of the parents, but must be sought in the conditions present in the early stages of the history of the particular family. With the description of some of the characteristics of the conflict during the old age of the subjects as background, it is now opportune to discuss this hypothesis at some length.

If the conflicts during the old age of the parents had their source in the different cultures represented by the two generations, then, there should have been similar trouble during the adolescence and youth of the children,¹⁷ for it was during that period that

the younger people might be presumed to have acquired their urban mores. These early family conflicts were thought to have been especially likely to have arisen over church attendance, liquor drinking, party going, dancing, choice of companions, keeping of late hours, spending of money, amount and character of work done, choice of occupation, and selection of marriage partner, because of the divergent attitudes regarding them in the two cultures under discussion.¹⁸ Many questions, therefore, were asked the subjects and their children to reveal whatever trouble there had been over these values during this critical period in the history of the family.¹⁹

In the 50 families, there was possible a total of 500 conflict situations over the 10 values listed above. One hundred and seventy-four, or approximately 35 percent of the maximum number, were found. Another way of stating this fact is that each family had been on the average in conflict over 3.5 of the 10 values in the relations of either parent with one or more of the children.

Twenty-two cases of major conflict were found in the array into which all the cases had been put on the basis of the degree of opposition between parents and the child with whom there had been the most trouble during this early family period. In nine of these 22 cases, one of the children had left home before the age of 18, because he could not keep peace with his parents and refused to continue a relation that was very disagreeable to him. The other 13 cases of the 22 were characterized chiefly by a feeling of bitterness and resentment on the part of the child that had led to a dislocation of the normal flow of affection between parents and offspring at this stage of family development.

Quarrelling over and disagreement on what was proper behavior for young people took place in almost all of the other 28 cases of

¹⁶ See Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process*, New York, 1940, pp. 102-110.

¹⁹ In 20 of the 50 cases, the memories of the parents were checked by the independent report of one of the children. A comparison of the two descriptions of family history showed a high degree of correspondence between them.

¹⁷ Children of the same family differed in the extent to which the factors described above obtained in the relations they had with their parents.

¹⁸ For the purposes of this study, considered as the period from age 12 to age 18. Hereafter, simply called "the youth" of the children.

the total group of 50, but the difficulty usually was short lived. It never presented a continuing challenge to the authority of the parents. Perhaps, most important of all, the children did not develop as a result of such interaction an emotional barrier to accepting and returning the affection of their elders. These cases, therefore, have been classified as ones of minor or no conflict.

In the cases of major conflict, the details of family history show clearly the rural-urban clash that occurred in the rearing of the children. The important elements of the process through which this opposition was expressed can easily be identified. While the parents adhered to the mores under which they had been reared, the children came into contact with the behavior patterns of the city. To these they were attracted, consequently rejecting those which the parents had endeavored to instill in them. There followed strong attempts on the part of the elders to bring the young people back to the "right way of living." These controls were resisted by the children.

As the processes of the abnormal mind are essentially the same as those of the normal mind, but intensified in certain aspects, so the elements of conflict described above as characteristic of the cases of major conflict were also found in some of the cases of minor trouble, but in less developed form. Serious trouble had been prevented by the capacity of both parents and children to adapt to the change from a rural to an urban culture. The parents did not insist upon their mores being accepted fully by the offspring. The latter, in turn, did not deviate from the course recommended by their elders as much as their inclinations impelled them to do and which they would have done if they had not had a large measure of respect for the parental code. While the two generations in these cases worked out their accommodation, they quarrelled occasionally, experimenting with each other to see how far it was possible to go in carrying out a particular attitude without creating a rupture in their relations, sometimes resorting to secrecy or pretenses of not knowing what took place, and seemingly always having in mind the primary im-

portance of the unity of the family.

Some of the cases of minor or no conflict did not have this history of adaptation. In this small group were a few families in which the parents had dominated the children in a thorough manner, imposing upon them the mores of the rural past. Other families of this group gave the children just about everything they wanted without questioning or dispute. No serious conflict could arise in either set of families, because one of the two necessary parties to such a situation was submissive to the will of the other, not daring or not wanting to challenge it.

CONTINUITY OF CONFLICT

That these conflicts in the early family period were the result of certain factors in the interaction of parents and children that continued to the old age of the parents and led to a similar degree of trouble at that time has been advanced as a primary hypothesis of this study. The validity of this position has so far been indicated by the presence of similar elements of conflict in the two family periods that have been described. Different mores furnished the subject matter of dispute. A rejection of attempted parental authority by the children provided a necessary condition to their contending with their elders over the different mores. That these factors were causally connected from one family period to the other appears historically true because of the change from a rural to an urban culture that was concurrent. This connection, furthermore, seems logically correct if the assumption is made that the basic values of people are rooted in them at an early age and do not usually change after adulthood.

Supporting evidence for such continuity of conflict was found in comparing the opposition in one family period with that in the other. Seventeen of the 22 cases of serious conflict in the youth of the children had a similar rating in the old age of the parents. Twenty-four of the 28 cases of minor or no conflict in the first family period had no greater trouble in the later period. Thus 41 of the 50 cases had the same general degree of conflict during both family periods.

By classifying the conflict in each period into five groups according to degree, it was possible to refine this analysis.²⁰ A Chi Square test of the association between the two groupings indicated that the probability of its occurring by chance was less than .001. The coefficient of contingency was .67.

SPECIFIC FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH CONFLICT

If on the basis of the evidence presented, it is agreed that the factors directly associated with the conflict of aged parents and their children were operating in the early family period as a function of the change from a rural to an urban culture, there remains the problem of identifying more specifically what those factors were. It has been stated that the great majority of families went through the process of the children accepting some of the urban values, the parents attempting to check their drift away from the mores of the past, and the young people resisting the control of their elders. Rejection of parental values, attempted control, and resistance went to a great degree in some cases while in others it was confined within narrow limits by the adaptation of each generation to the attitudes of the other.

The question now is why some families were able to adjust successfully to the changes in culture while others were unable to do so.²¹ A suggestion of the answer to this question is revealed in a comparison of the cases that had experienced serious con-

flict with the cases that had only minor or no conflict in the two family periods. The two groups differed in the strength of their general family organization. The families in which there had been serious trouble had not been sufficiently well organized to get their code accepted without a high degree of resistance from the children. The lack of strong organization was indicated by several facts. In a few cases, the family had been broken by death, divorce, or separation. Other cases were characterized by quarrels between the spouses. Sometimes the difficulty was the failure of one parent to co-operate with the other in the training of the children. One instance of this kind was found in the refusal of the father to take any interest in whether or not the children attended church although by his so doing the offspring were encouraged to disregard the mother's injunction that they participate in certain religious services. Finally a few cases revealed the personal disorganization of one of the parents. A case of this type was that of a father who had been addicted to alcohol. Such elements of disorganization were discovered in 14 of the 17 cases of serious conflict, but in only five of the 24 cases of minor or no conflict during both family periods.

When such disorganization existed in a family in which the parents attempted to enforce the old code upon the children who had come into contact with the new values, one or more of the offspring would usually resist the injunctions of the elders. Serious conflict would result. Two further questions then arise. First, what caused the disorganization of some of the families? Second, why did some of the children of a family and not the others reject the mores taught them and openly challenge the authority of their parents?

With the proper data, these questions might be answered in terms of biological elements, personality patterns, social forces, and chance events in the history of the family.²² Since such materials were not collected in a systematic way in the interviews, the

²⁰ Twenty of the cases were classified once by the writer on the basis of the data from the parents and once by a graduate student in sociology on the basis of the family histories obtained from their children. For the period of the old age of the parents, 12 of the 20 cases were classified exactly the same and in four other cases, the ratings differed by one class. For the period of the youth of the children, 14 cases were classified the same and three differed by one class.

²¹ This general problem has been studied by Robert Cooley Angell, *The Family Encounters the Depression*, New York, 1936, and by Ruth Shonle Cavan and Katherine Howland Ranck, *The Family and the Depression*, Chicago, 1938. The brief treatment here is consistent with their intensive analysis of the subject.

²² See E. W. Burgess and Paul L. Schroeder, "Introduction," pp. ix-x in Ruth Shonle Cavan and Katherine Howland Ranck, *op. cit.*

analysis will not be carried to this lower level of causation although it is theoretically quite possible to do so.

SUBJECT-CHILD FAMILY SITUATION

Emphasis has been placed upon the rapid change in culture as a source of many of the parent-child conflicts found in the sample group. But will not the elements of disorganization that have been described above produce conflict in a rural culture that is undergoing only a slow rate of change? It is known that in such a culture there are broken families, there is domestic discord, and there is personal disorganization of one or both of the spouses.

An attempt was made to answer this question by analyzing the data on the relations between the subjects and their parents; that is, in the family immediately preceding the one that has already been described. The subjects seemed to have no great difficulty in remembering the history of the period when they were children.²³ The materials cover the years from about 1850 to 1890. Since the sample group were living for the most part in the mid-western states of this country, their environment was mainly a rural one of pioneer character.

For this subject-child family situation, many fewer conflicts were found between the parents and their children. According to the memory of the subjects, there had been only 58 conflict situations during the period of their youth over the 10 values that were later so much in question. In 11 of the 50 cases, these conflicts had led to serious trouble between a parent and one or more of the children.

During the period of the old age of the parents of the subjects, there had been even less conflict. Eight of the old people reported that there had been in-law trouble. In six other cases, the story was one of a clash between the parents and their children. But in only three of these 14 families did the dispute become serious in the sense that has been used in this paper.

²³ No check was made on the accuracy of the statements of the subjects. In all probability, they under-reported these earlier conflicts.

An illuminating feature of the conflicts of the youth of the children in this early family situation was their tendency to disappear as the offspring became adults and assumed the responsibility of rearing their own family. They then accepted a role similar to that of their parents before them and in so doing aligned themselves on the side of the values that they earlier had transgressed. Along with other values, they then accepted the cultural prescription that aged parents should be respected and cared for when in need.²⁴

RESIDENCE DIFFERENCES

A comparison of Jackson with Minneapolis families was thought to afford a check upon the hypothesis that conflict has arisen as a result of the urbanization of our culture.²⁵ The village, having been assumed to have had a slower rate of change, was expected to have fewer parent-child conflicts than the city.

The case histories, however, show no great differences between Jackson and Minneapolis families in the extent and degree of conflict. This fact may either be taken as an indication of the weakness of the hypothesis advanced or it may be interpreted as meaning that the values of the children of the village families were about the same as those of the children of the city families. That the latter explanation is more probable is suggested by the case-history materials. Freedom from work, possession of spending money, attendance at movies, listening to the radio, use of the family automobile, and weakening of parental authority characterized the children in both residence groups and signified that the village youth as well as those of the city had changed in a significant degree from the pattern of life of the previous generation.²⁶

²⁴ For a description of the organization of the rural family of this time, see Arthur Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family*, Cleveland, 1919, and Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York, 1929, Chapter XV.

²⁵ Cases of the sample were so chosen that the factors of sex, economic status, race, health, living arrangement, and family status were partially or fully controlled in the comparison.

²⁶ Such urbanization of the values of children may not be found in farm families.

CONCLUSION

One inference to be drawn from the study is that conflict between aged parents and their children may decrease. The mores of the pioneer rural culture will probably weaken and gradually disappear with the succeeding generations of old people in Minnesota. The aged of the future, having been reared under the influence of urban values, may differ less in their fundamental tenets from their children than was the case in the families of the sample group. On the other hand, it is also possible that far-reaching changes in our economic, political, and social organization may occur that will separate to a greater extent than now the basic beliefs of parents and their offspring.

In reasoning of this kind, it should be emphasized that conflict is a process that takes place in a framework of historical events. No one factor found associated with it at a particular time, therefore, should be expected to have similar influence under different circumstances. Family ties might loosen so the two generations would have fewer contacts with one another. The authority of the parents might be so redefined that they would not try to exercise a high degree of control over their children. The community interests and status of the aged might increase to the extent that old people would not identify themselves as much as now with their offspring and would not be nearly so much concerned with their behavior. If such changes as these occurred, then, parents and their children might not enter into serious conflict even though they had diverse mores.

An application of the findings of this study can be made to the problem of old people living with their children. When the two generations have had a history of serious conflict, they might be presumed to have their opposition aggravated by a common resi-

dence. Social workers should not expect to ameliorate this situation to any great degree since the difficulties have such deep roots. State laws, therefore, which require children to support aged and needy parents probably increase the extent of family disorganization in the area in the endeavor to reduce the cost of public assistance. Community expectations that parents and children should live together when the former are in old age and unable to take care of many of their personal wants are misdirected if they do not take into consideration the background of family relations.

In those cases in which there is a disparity in the mores of the two generations, the subjects should lessen the psychological as well as physical dependency upon their children. They should not look upon their offspring as constituting all they have to live for. They should avoid as much as possible identifying themselves closely with their children. The reason is that only rarely can people who differ in fundamental views continue a satisfactory personal relation. Parents who have so much at stake and who feel in some degree responsible for their children cannot escape great disturbance over the divergency in values. The alleviation of this problem is to be sought in a re-focussing of the emotions and interests of the old people outside of the family group. They need to be shown, for example, that the members of their own age group can give them the companionship they sometimes so desperately hope to get from their children and which they have such low probability of obtaining when there is a conflict of cultures.²⁷

²⁷ Some of the difficulties of the aged participating in community activities are described in Robert M. Dinkel, "Social and Economic Adjustments of the Aged," *Public Welfare in Indiana*, January 1942, p. 12.

THE FAMILY AND INDIVIDUAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION*

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THE HYPOTHESIS presented in this paper is that the social participation of an individual is to a considerable degree a function of the social participation of the family. It says that if husbands participate, wives usually do, and if husbands and wives participate, children usually do, so that participation is chiefly a family trait.

Such an hypothesis, if correct, is of considerable importance for sociology and for social work. In a democratic society, participation is fundamental. Boodin has stated that "to understand the conduct of human beings, we must understand their participation, consciously and unconsciously, in group beliefs and ideals, with the control that these have over them. Eliminate this social factor in conduct and we no longer have human conduct."¹ Queen and Gruener in their *Social Pathology*,² have recognized this by relating their considerations of the "social pathologies" to the basic question of their influence upon the social participation of human beings, reasoning that participation through "membership and roles in social groups and activities that may be described as cultural" is an expression of normal living.

Likewise, this hypothesis is important practically. If the social worker, the county agricultural agent, and the minister of religion, urban and rural, and others engaged in social and individual reconstruction can be quite sure that participation is a family matter and that individuals take part at least to a considerable degree because the family is a participating group, their approach and practice will be decidedly influenced. The 4-H club agent, for example, will realize that getting the farm boy into his organization is

also a matter of interesting the father in the Farm Bureau and the mother in the Home Bureau, and that where the father and mother are active participants, it will probably be easy to interest the sons or daughters.

Now it is not known and this paper does not try to answer whether in participating family groups there is a priority of participation, that is whether the fathers and mothers start participating first or whether the children start first. In upper class families it is probably true that the parents set the pattern of participation, while in lower class families, especially the foreign born, the children, absorbing the surrounding culture, try to set the pattern and change the parental habits. This is important and needs to be factually discovered, for if there is a priority, then the approach should be guided by it.

In order to discover the association between individual and family participation one of the methods used has been to compute Chapin Participation Scores for 1176 farm families and the 2014 individuals 10 years of age and over of which they were composed, living in Cortland and Otsego Counties, New York.³ This scoring technique uses measures of five aspects of participation. It allows one point for each organizational membership held by each family member; two points for each organization attended at least once during the year by each member; three points for each organization to which a contribution is made for support; four for each committee membership held; and five for each office held. The total number of points thus given to each person for these activities in the different organizations is that person's participation score, while the

*The first paragraph well summarizes the article. [Ed.]

¹ J. E. Boodin, "The Law of Social Participation," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 27:25 (July 1921).

² S. A. Queen and Jennette R. Gruener, *Social Pathology*, New York, Macmillan, 1940.

³ W. A. Anderson, and Hans Plambeck, *The Social Participation of Farm Families*, Cornell Univ. Agr. Exp. Station, Dept. of Rural Sociology Mimeo. Bull. No. 8. Children less than 10 years were omitted, since most formal organization do not include them.

total family score is obtained by adding all the scores of the family members. In Chapin's score sheet, the average family score is computed by totaling the points made by the husband and wife and dividing by two. In our study the average family score is computed by averaging the points made by all family members 10 years of age or over. This score is a measure of both the extensity of participation and of its intensity, since it includes memberships, which indicate extent; and attendance, officerships, committee activities, and contributions, which indicate intensity. The reliability of the Chapin score as a measure of participation has been pointed out in other papers⁴; it is unnecessary for us to deal with this problem here.

Is it factually true, then, that extensity and intensity of the participation of the individual family members is closely related to the extensity and intensity of the participation of the rest of his family? If so, we may expect that these would show high correlation. That the relationship between participation of the individual family members and the other family members is fairly close is shown by the size of these coefficients, which are uniformly high (Table 1).⁵ Likewise the relationships between the participation scores of the individual family members are consistently high, especially those between the husband and wife, the wife and the daughters and the brothers and the sisters. The relationship of the participation of the husbands and of the wives seems to be the strongest, while that of the husbands and the daughters seems to be the weakest. But the relationship between the participation of the other family members and of any given

family member is consistently strong and supports the original hypothesis.

Further indication of this influence of family participation on the individual's activities may be given by showing to what

TABLE 1. PEARSONIAN COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN THE CHAPIN PARTICIPATION SCORES OF INDIVIDUAL FAMILY MEMBERS AND THE AVERAGE SCORE OF THE REST OF THE FAMILY FOR 1176 FARM FAMILIES IN CORTLAND AND OTSEGO COUNTIES, NEW YORK, 1939 AND 1940

Specified Member in Family	Rest of family (Average score)	Chapin Scores of			
		Husbands	Wives	Sons	Daughters
Husbands	+ .73	—	+ .76	+ .58	+ .55
Wives	+ .74	+ .76	—	+ .60	+ .70
Sons	+ .70	+ .58	+ .60	—	+ .71
Daughters	+ .68	+ .55	+ .70	+ .71	—

extent all the family members participated in the five ways that are included in the participation scale. There are two ways in which the family may behave as a unit in this participation. If none of the family members participate in any way, non-family participation is illustrated. If all of the family members participate in all five ways, then positive participation of the family as a unit is illustrated. Families in which some members participate in some ways while others do not, show only partial participation and if this were the general situation, then one could not infer influence between family members in these activities.

Another condition has bearing on the relationships. All persons 10 years of age or over in the area studied had opportunity to become members, to attend meetings, and to make contributions to a number of different organizations. But organizations have only a few officers, and usually only a few committees and these are usually limited to active members. Table 2 indicates that only three out of every 10 families had one or more members who held some organization office. Committee memberships were even fewer. Opportunities to participate in these two ways are thus limited, so that participation in these activities is not directly com-

⁴F. Stuart Chapin, *The Social Participation Scale*, University of Minnesota Press, 1937; F. Stuart Chapin, "Social Participation and Social Intelligence," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 157 to 166, April 1939; H. R. Cottam, *Methods of Measuring Level of Living, Social Participation, and Adjustment of Ohio Farm People*, Dept. of Rur. Soc. Mimeo. Bull. 139, pp. 18 ff., July 1941.

⁵In each case, in order to avoid spurious relationship, the average family score was computed after excluding the score of the particular family member under consideration.

parable to participation through attendance, membership, or contributions.

If it can be shown that in large proportions of the families studied, that either all family members do not participate through member-

TABLE 2. THE NUMBER AND PERCENT OF THE 1176 FARM FAMILIES IN WHICH NO FAMILY MEMBER HOLDS AN ORGANIZATIONAL OFFICE, CORTLAND AND OTSEGO COUNTIES, NEW YORK, 1939, 1940

Size of Family	Number of Families	Families where no member holds office	
		Number	Percent
2	611	481	79
3	260	181	70
4	173	94	54
5	89	53	60
6	43	29	67
Total	1176	838	71

ship, attendance, and contributions, or that all members participate in these three ways, there would be strong evidence, in addition to the correlations between the participation scores that unit family participation is characteristic. This, it appears, is what Table 3 does show. In the families including two persons, in 13 percent neither member participated in any of these three ways so there is uniform family participation in the 13 percent. In 47 percent both members participated in all three ways so there is unit positive participation in the 47 percent. In four out of 10 families there was participation in some of the three ways when the other member did not participate so that the 40 percent are partially participating families. In each of the other sizes of family, in one-half or more of them all family members either did not partici-

pate in any of the three ways or all participated in all three ways when the unit negative and the unit positive participation is combined. When all of the families are added into one grouping, the negatively participating and the positively participating families totalled 57 percent while the partially participating families were 43 percent. In these generally available participation opportunities, therefore, the majority of the families behave as a unit, either not participating at all or participating in all three ways.

If the base of these comparisons is broadened and the families are compared as to the participation of members in organizations in one or more of the five possible ways, another aspect of family influence is emphasized.

In the families composed of only two persons, in 13 percent neither person participated in organizations in any way. In 22 percent only one of the two persons participated in some of the five ways while the other members did not participate at all but in 65 percent both persons participated in one or more of the five possible ways. In each different size of family up and including those composed of six persons ten years of age or more, in over one-half of them, all family members participated in one or more of the five possible ways. When the percentage of the families, in which none of the members participated in any way, is added to the percentage in which all of them participated in some ways, the percentage of positively participating families and negatively participating families range from 59 percent of the six person families to 78 percent of the two person families. In only 22 to 41 percent of the families was there participation by some members of the family while others did not participate at all or partial family participation (Table 4). In the majority of instances, therefore, either the fami-

TABLE 3. THE NUMBER AND PERCENT OF 1176 FARM FAMILIES BY SIZE IN CORTLAND AND OTSEGO COUNTIES, NEW YORK, IN WHICH FAMILY MEMBERS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ALL PARTICIPATE IN ORGANIZATIONS THROUGH MEMBERSHIP, ATTENDANCE, AND CONTRIBUTIONS OR IN WHICH NONE PARTICIPATE IN THESE THREE WAYS, OR IN WHICH THEY PARTIALLY PARTICIPATE, 1939, 1940

Size of Family	Number				Percent			
	Not Participating	All participating in the 3 ways	Partially Participating	Total	Not Participating	All Participating in the 3 ways	Partially Participating	Total
2	81	289	241	611	13	47	40	100
3	20	115	125	260	8	44	48	100
4	11	86	76	173	6	50	44	100
5	12	32	45	89	13	36	51	100
6	3	18	22	43	7	42	51	100
Total	127	540	509	1176	11	46	43	100

TABLE 4. THE NUMBER AND PERCENT OF 1176 FARM FAMILIES BY SIZE IN WHICH ONE OR MORE MEMBERS PARTICIPATE IN ORGANIZATIONS, CORTLAND AND OTSEGO COUNTIES, NEW YORK, 1939, 1940

Size of Family	Number of members participating in one or more ways							Total families
	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	
2	81	133	397	—	—	—	—	611
3	20	41	49	150	—	—	—	260
4	11	21	17	16	108	—	—	173
5	12	6	4	5	8	54	—	89
6	3	3	8	2	2	2	23	43
Size of Family	Percent of members participating in one or more ways							Total families
	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	
2	13	22	65	—	—	—	—	100
3	8	16	19	57	—	—	—	100
4	6	12	10	9	63	—	—	100
5	13	7	4	6	9	61	—	100
6	7	7	19	5	5	5	52	100

lies do not participate at all or all of the family members participate in some ways.

Membership, attendance at meetings, and contributions toward support, it has been indicated, are the three most common ways in which individuals participate. Since comparison shows each of these to give the same general results, attendance at meetings will be used to illustrate family influence in a specific type of activity. In 48 to 54 percent of the families of specific sizes, all of the members attended one or more meetings of organizations during the year. In 8 to 25 percent of the families of specific sizes none of the family members attended so that in this particular there was nonfamily participation. When complete lack of attendance is added to attendance by all family members or complete positive participation in this regard, the range in the percent of families in which all members attend plus those in

which none attend, is from 60 percent in the families composed of five members to 79 percent in the families including two persons. In other words, only 21 to 40 percent of the families are partially participating families as far as attendance is concerned (Table 5). In the great majority of the cases either all attend or all do not.

Family members hold offices or serve on committees of organizations in not more than three out of each 10 families. As stated, offices and committees are not numerous and are not, therefore, available to many individuals. In spite of this fact, it appears that even with respect to participating in this way the influence of the family is present. If office holding is used as our illustration, it is observed that in those families where at least one member holds an office, as the size of the family increases, the proportion in which only one of the family members holds an office de-

TABLE 5. THE NUMBER AND PERCENT OF FARM FAMILIES BY SIZE IN WHICH ONE OR MORE MEMBERS ATTEND ORGANIZATIONS, CORTLAND AND OTSEGO COUNTIES, N. Y., 1939, 1940

Size of Family	Number of Members Who Attend							Total
	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	
2	150	129	332	—	—	—	—	611
3	43	43	47	127	—	—	—	260
4	24	20	17	17	95	—	—	173
5	7	5	7	6	17	47	—	89
6	5	6	5	1	1	4	21	43
Size of Family	Percent Who Attend							Total
	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	
2	25	21	54	—	—	—	—	100
3	17	17	18	48	—	—	—	100
4	14	12	10	10	54	—	—	100
5	8	6	8	7	19	52	—	100
6	12	14	12	2	2	9	49	100

creases and the proportions in which two or more members hold offices increase. It is, of course, true that as the number of persons in the family increases, the statistical chances of more than one member holding an office would be increased. In 49 percent of the families of three persons, only one member holds an office, while in 51 percent either two or all three members hold office (Table 6). In the 4 person families where at least one person holds office, in 46 percent one mem-

bers may get them through the reflective process and as a result of the leadership qualities they absorb in their family environments.

All of these statistics appear to confirm the hypothesis suggested that the social participation of individuals is closely associated with the participation of other members of the family and that participation is to a considerable degree, a family characteristic. The data of this study are from rural families. The

TABLE 6. THE NUMBER AND PERCENT OF THE 1176 FAMILIES BY SIZE IN WHICH AT LEAST ONE MEMBER HOLDS AN OFFICE IN AN ORGANIZATION; CORTLAND AND OTSEGO COUNTIES, NEW YORK, 1939, 1940

Size of Family	Number Holding Office						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
2	82	48	—	—	—	—	130
3	39	27	13	—	—	—	79
4	36	23	16	4	—	—	79
5	13	10	8	3	2	—	36
6	5	3	1	3	1	1	14
Size of Family	Percent Holding Office						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
2	63	37	—	—	—	—	100
3	49	34	17	—	—	—	100
4	46	29	20	5	—	—	100
5	36	28	22	8	6	—	100
6	35	22	7	22	7	7	100

ber is an office-holder, while in 54 percent 2 or more hold offices. There are only a few families of 6 members, and so the percentages may be chance percentages. But in 35 percent of them where at least one member is an officer, one member only held an office, while in 43 percent three or more held office. In one of the 14 families five members, and in one, all six of the members held office. Now the chance possibilities of as many as five out of six or of all six members in such a family being an organization officer in a given year are very slight, yet in two out of the 14 families such is the case.

Since offices are available to only a small proportion of the individuals, they act as a selective factor. Those individuals with the highest social status in the group probably get the offices. Social status, so far as the younger family members are concerned, is to a considerable degree a matter of the family social status and leadership position, so that, in the larger families where the family heads have achieved officerships, the younger mem-

bers may get them through the reflective process and as a result of the leadership qualities they absorb in their family environments.

hypothesis is, however, stated in general terms. It needs further testing to discover whether it applies to urban as well as rural life. If finally substantiated, this principle should certainly affect the approach of many organization workers. In the rural areas, several organizations do emphasize the family group approach. This is especially true of the Grange. The family approach does not mean, however, that all members of the family are necessarily to be included in the same organization or organizations. Rather the whole family should be viewed as a unit in which the participation behavior of each member is important in its effects on the others members. In many, and especially in urban situations, little thought is given to this and the idea of the special interest relationships of the individuals often hides the significance of the family factor. It may be true that individuals who have special interests never express them because there is little stimulus from a participating family.

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PROTESTANT COMITY IN METROPOLITAN PITTSBURGH*

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The changing demographic pattern of many urban communities has affected certain churches unfavorably. More than 25 years ago Pittsburgh Protestants realized that shifting populations called for cooperative socio-religious adjustments if wasteful duplication were to be avoided. Case studies of comity in Allegheny County show that the Pittsburgh Council of Churches has been reasonably successful in this particular field.

THE EVOLUTION of church comity is a phenomenon associated with social change. Since the turn of the century the accelerated pace of social interaction seems to have encouraged the growth of an ecumenical spirit. This, in turn, has found expression in institutional forms designed to facilitate adjustments to variable conditions. As an illustration of the trend, the Protestant church federation movement is a case in point. Usually one of the functions of such an organization is to set up machinery providing for the practice of comity whereby co-operation is substituted for competition¹ in home mission and church extension work. The willingness of religious bodies to submerge sectarian differences so as to achieve unity of action in this field is indicative of the importance attached to comity relationships.

In no area of experience is the comity program more significant than where the process of urbanization has circumscribed the progress of established churches. With that fact in mind, therefore, it is the purpose of this report to summarize a study of Protestant comity in a typical metropolitan area.²

*The writer is indebted to Dr. Manuel C. Elmer and to Dr. Samuel P. Franklin of the University of Pittsburgh for indispensable assistance with the original research, a Ph.D. dissertation, upon which this article is based. He acknowledges with gratitude the wholehearted cooperation of the Pittsburgh Council of Churches and other religious and social agencies in Allegheny County.

¹See L. V. Ballard, *Social Institutions*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1936, p. 466; also L. D. Osborn and M. H. Neumeyer, *The Community and Society*, American Book Company, 1933, p. 332.

²For a detailed treatment of this topic, consult

Scope. Restricted in geographic scope to Allegheny County, the territory within the jurisdiction of the Pittsburgh Council of Churches, the investigation was confined to denominations affiliated with the Comity Commission of that body and did not concern itself with communions not so identified. The chronological period covered extended from 1916 through 1941.

Hypothesis. The analysis proceeds from the assumption that the evolution of comity in institutional form was a natural resultant of changing socio-religious conditions. As a corollary to this proposition, it is suggested that the form which the adjustment assumed was determined in part by the peculiar character of the Pittsburgh district itself.

The Conditioning Factors. Emphasis must be placed on the unfavorable effects of the ecological process of city growth upon many of the older Pittsburgh churches.³ The pattern of population change in Allegheny County, as elsewhere, reveals the existence of

H. Paul Douglass, *Church Comity*, 1929, and *Protestant Co-operation in American Cities*, 1930. Several other studies by the Institute of Social and Religious Research are of interest in this connection. In *Interchurch Community Programs*, 1932, C. R. Zahniser makes frequent references to the Pittsburgh situation.

³In the studies of R. W. Sanderson, Douglass, Hallenbeck, Kincheloe, and others, it was observed that the typical urban church tends to reflect in its membership statistics changes in the character of the surrounding neighborhood. Although downtown churches of the "metropolitan" type seem to be exceptions, they grow largely by accretion and show the effects of change mainly in small Sunday school enrollments.

successive immigrant invasions and evacuations of central city areas. There was a definite trend of the earlier settlers toward the suburbs, especially between 1910 and 1930. But population did not shift with equal volume in all directions simultaneously, since its flow was impeded in some instances by topographical barriers. The movement appears to have been toward the East End at first, following the line of least resistance, and reached its peak, after crossing the rivers, in a great surge to the South Hills section.

Deprived in large measure of their potential constituency by the outward movement of population, many central city churches engaged in a competitive struggle for survival. In outlying areas overlapping parishes resulting from uncontrolled missionary expansion accentuated the problems facing church extension agencies wishing to conserve the resources of institutions which they established.

A general realization in Protestant church circles that something should be done to remedy this unsatisfactory state of affairs set the stage for a co-operative approach to the task of evangelizing the Pittsburgh district. The movement attained its culmination with the formation of the Pittsburgh Council of the Churches of Christ in 1916, the County Commission of which was authorized to assume jurisdiction in its specific field.

As evidence of change, it is noteworthy that while the population of Pittsburgh* increased by 18 percent between 1900 and 1910, the rest of the county had a net gain amounting to 50 percent. During the intercensal period 1910-1920, outlying territory was still growing more than twice as fast as the city itself, although the differential between the respective rates was much larger in the preceding decade. If important annexations since 1920 are excluded from the city tabulation for 1930, a procedure that is statistically valid for our purpose, it becomes clear that a similar trend persisted during this decade, though not so pronounced as in some of the earlier years. What is more

significant, however, is the fact that much of the population growth between 1890 and 1910 was in expanding industrial communities, while later gains appear to have been more suburban in nature. Between 1930 and 1940 the population of Pittsburgh remained comparatively stationary.

Church Membership Data. The relative growth of church membership for all denominations in the aggregate, 1906-1916,⁵ was much larger than that of the general population, both in Pittsburgh and in outlying areas. Between 1916 and 1926 there was a sharp drop in the rate of increase, especially in Pittsburgh. During the period 1926-1936 church membership gained more slowly than did the population, with both variables being considerably diminished in size in comparison with the preceding decade. Omission of the data for Jewish congregations, 1916-1926, which are not strictly comparable, discloses that the other bodies, on the whole, just about held their own in Pittsburgh during that period.

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE MEMBERSHIP GAINS AND LOSSES OF THREE RELIGIOUS BODIES IN PITTSBURGH AND THE REMAINDER OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY DURING THREE INTERCENSAL DECADES

		Pittsburgh	County Outside City
1906-1916	Methodist	36.9	61.7
	Presbyterian	36.1	56.0
	United Presbyterian	20.0	55.2
1916-1926	Methodist	6.7	17.8
	Presbyterian	13.1	19.2
	United Presbyterian	0.9	19.7
1926-1936	Methodist	-12.0	-8.8
	Presbyterian	-12.7	-2.4
	United Presbyterian	5.0	-1.0

The foregoing table affords a graphic picture of the declining rate of Protestant membership growth. Moreover, the data imply that evangelical communions, at least, have reached the point of diminishing returns, thus tending to intensify problems arising from interchurch competition.

* Figures for 1900 include Allegheny City, which was annexed in 1907 and therefore automatically included in 1910.

⁵ Source: U. S. Census of Religious Bodies. Figures for Allegheny City included with those of Pittsburgh, 1906.

In 1930, O. S. Whitacre studied the growth of five major Protestant bodies in Pittsburgh, covering the period 1910-1929.⁶ Employing average membership figures for 1910-1912 as a base, he computed the net gains to 1929. The composite increase amounted to 28 percent, thus exceeding by a margin of but three percent the estimated growth of the city population. Furthermore, he noted that, without exception, all communions gained more

peak memberships prior to 1920 were located in older and relatively disadvantaged portions of the city.

It is noteworthy that both Lawrenceville samples attained peak memberships in 1910; both Oakland, Homewood, East Liberty, and West End selections reached their zenith in 1920; while the degree of correspondence with respect to other areas was less marked. One of the two churches attaining top mem-

TABLE 2. MEMBERSHIP STATISTICS OF 17 PITTSBURGH PRESBYTERIAN AND METHODIST CHURCHES IN 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, AND 1940

Church No.	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
1 M	597*	460	530	280	167
2 P	474	597	686*	621	419
3 M	700	716*	558	367	290
4 M	740	934	1,152	1,089	827
5 P	511	505	789*	451	394
6 P	215	328*	326	194	130
7 P	502	1,020	1,400*	883	581
8 M	400	732	1,094*	850	649
9 P	345	601*	519	415	221
10 P	315	568	686	787*	599
11 M	950	1,073	1,562*	854	877
12 P	198	352	381*	250	171
13 P	395	542	637	1,303*	848
14 M	680	556	697*	344	205
15 P	385	934*	680	681	748
16 M	534	552	570*	558	498
17 P	223	370	460*	299	160
Totals	8,164	10,840	12,727*	10,226	7,784

M—Methodist; P—Presbyterian.

* Peak membership for the period studied.

members between 1912 and 1918 than in the much longer period of 1919 to 1929.

To determine to what extent specific churches might be reflecting in their membership statistics certain changes in the character of the population, the writer examined such data for a sample of 17 congregations in Pittsburgh. (1) As shown below, of the 17 churches, 11 reported fewer members in 1940 than in 1900. (2) The aggregate membership of all churches for the period studied was largest in 1920 and smallest in 1940. (3) It is known that all congregations registering

berships in 1930 was situated at the edge of a superior residential district toward the eastern peripheral boundary of Pittsburgh.

Reference to Sunday school enrollment data for the same churches disclosed a similar trend, but with one important exception. The peak was reached a few years earlier than in the churches and was followed by a sharper decline after 1920.⁷ Of the 17 samples, 12 attained top enrollments prior to 1920, in contrast to but 5 of the churches.

According to the federal Census of Religious Bodies, the total number of Sunday

⁶O. S. Whitacre, *A Comparative Study of Five Major Protestant Denominations in Pittsburgh, 1910-29*, University of Pittsburgh, Master's thesis, 1930.

⁷ Peak figures refer to decennial statistics. Examination of data for the intervening years revealed some minor fluctuations which in no way invalidate these general conclusions.

school scholars in Pittsburgh was:^a

	% Gain or Loss
1906 99,115	
1916 127,418	28.6
1926 96,096	-24.6
1936 95,767	-0.0

The sizeable gain between 1906 and 1916 was practically offset by the sharp decline during the succeeding decade. It is significant that the aggregate enrollment was smaller in 1936 than in 1906, doubtless reflecting both the falling birth rate and the suburban trend.

Judging from the records of the Allegheny County Sabbath School Association, total enrollment in the county increased steadily since the beginning of the century but experienced a decline of 12.7 percent between 1930 and 1940. Probably there is no single explanation for the latter situation.

So long as the Protestant churches were unable to keep pace with the demands of an expanding constituency for religious ministrations, such problems as arise from wasteful duplication were practically non-existent. But with a radical change in the quantity and quality of the population in certain areas, denominational leaders recognized the futility of subsidizing enterprises involving duplication. Thus with the passing of years did the wisdom of those conceiving the comity program for Allegheny County become more apparent.

Criteria. The practice of comity is based on certain fundamental assumptions concerning the mission of the church and its relation to environment. When accepted by the participating denominations, applied to specific cases, and strengthened by repeated tests, these assumptions take the form of standards to be used as a guide in the solution of comity problems. As such, they may be termed criteria. The following are some which have wide acceptance in comity circles:

(1) *Priority.* A congregation which is first on the field has rights which must be respected. It is usually accorded preferential treatment.

(2) *Self-Determination.* Residents of a given community are entitled to a church of their

^a Figures for Allegheny City included with those of Pittsburgh in 1906.

choice as indicated by the results of an impartial survey.

(3) *Institutional Adequacy.* Other things being equal, a disputed field will be assigned to the organization best qualified to put on an effective program.

(4) *Community Betterment.* To a limited extent it is possible to measure the impact of a church upon its environment by means of rating scales, supplemented by empirical observations. But such a procedure is open to serious objection because other influences may be producing the effects nominally ascribed to the church.

From the viewpoint of a comity committee, an institution should be of the right type in the right place at the right time to meet the requirements of the religious constituency.

Such criteria as the foregoing were identified and explained in connection with their bearing on the outcome of comity cases selected for special study.

I. CASE STUDIES OF COMITY IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY

Comprising about one-seventh of all transactions handled by the Comity Commission of the Council of Churches, 1917-1941, the cases subjected to detailed analysis were selected mainly with reference to these factors:

(1) significance in shaping the trend of comity; (2) variety of type; and (3) denominational distribution. The studies were utilized, in large measure, as the basis for conclusions relative to the functioning of the comity program. They were organized under the following topics:

A. Relocating a Downtown Church in a Neighborhood More Favorable to Its Growth.

B. A Case Involving Determination of the Boundaries of a Natural Community.

C. A Problem Arising from the Anticipated Development of a New Community.

D. A Problem of Defining New Work.

E. A Case of Intra-Denominational Merger

F. A Community Plan.

G. Institutional Adjustment.

(1) Case A exemplifies an attempted solution of the difficulties facing an urban church situated in a zone of transition which has been largely deserted by its former constitu-

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ency and compelled to seek a new location in an area to which the people are moving. Located in the old "Uptown" section of Pittsburgh for nearly 60 years, this congregation awakened to the realization, in 1924, that it would need to take some radical steps if it were to survive. Whereas the "Uptown" was once a superior residential district, invasion by alien groups and commercial encroachment had combined to displace elements in the population likely to unite with a Protestant church.

It was the "Uptown" survey, conducted in 1916-1917 by the Council of Churches,⁹ which first centered attention upon the problems of this area. Among the characteristics of the zone of transition noted were: a large transient population; immigrant settlements; numerous rooming houses; little residential construction; lack of facilities for wholesome recreation; and weak churches supported mainly from outside the district. Steady losses of personnel suggested that the church in question would have to move to a more promising locality or else close its doors.

Owing to the objections of other churches on the grounds of *priority*, *self-determination*, and *institutional adequacy*, efforts to relocate the congregation in the East End were blocked. In the course of the investigation, it was disclosed that even this area had so changed in nature that another Protestant church was not needed.

The organization was then disbanded and the property sold. About six years later a new institution was started in Greentree Borough adjacent to the city limits. It became the beneficiary of funds derived from the sale of the old property and also took the name of a former pastor of the latter congregation. Anticipating a favorable movement of population, many indications point to this location as a strategic one. Beginning with 58 charter members in 1930, the church reported a total of 304 communicants in 1941, a remarkable showing in view of the handicaps met during depression years.

(2) Case B illustrates how such factors

as topography, distance from other churches, and sociological homogeneity may be considered in delimiting the boundaries of a suburban community believed to form a natural parish. Objections of pastors of neighboring churches to the establishment of a mission near McKees Rocks necessitated a thorough survey of the field. Opposition was based on the grounds of *priority* and *institutional adequacy*. Proponents of the project found partial support on the issue of *self-determination*. Before a satisfactory decision could be reached, the Comity Commission ordered a study of the topographical and geographical features of the territory in question. This was supplemented by an inquiry into the social habits of the people. As a result of information brought to light in this manner, formation of a church was authorized in 1930. As the only Christian organization in an entire township, it has what may be called an exclusive parish. Beginning with a few members in 1931, the congregation experienced a decade of steady growth. Showing signs of developing into a distinct community, by January, 1942, some 500 families were said to be on the field and residential construction was continuing at a steady pace.

(3) Case C involved consideration of forces set in motion by the process of urban growth. The anticipated development of an area situated toward the periphery of Pittsburgh, as a result of contemplated improvements in transportation facilities, made the acquisition of a church site desirable. Construction of the Liberty "tubes," begun late in 1919 and completed in 1924, was expected to facilitate the flow of vehicular traffic between the downtown Triangle and the South Hills area. Church extension officials were quick to recognize the possibilities of the situation, since there was every indication that residential expansion would take place on a comprehensive scale. A spirited contest between two denominations for the right to start a mission in the Pioneer Avenue section of the city was complicated by issues of a troublesome local nature. The case was finally decided on the basis of *priority* when it was realized that representatives of one

⁹The Uptown, A Socio-Religious Survey of a Section of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1917, Pittsburgh Council of Churches.

of the parties to the controversy had been holding meetings in the area for some years and hence had a claim to special consideration.

(4) Case D had as its principal issue a technical question of defining "new work" as the term was embodied in the "Declaration on Comity."¹⁰ It is significant, however, that the problem was finally adjusted by determining what institution, from the standpoint of resources and program, was best qualified to meet the needs of the foreign population residing on the disputed field. At the outset it was necessary to ascertain whether the authors of the "Declaration" had intended the term "new work" to refer to the legitimate extension of the facilities of an existing institution. The proposal of one denomination to carry on work among the Russian population of the "Soho" district of Pittsburgh, less than a block away from a similar enterprise of another body, seemed contrary to the spirit of comity. But closer examination of such issues as *priority* and *institutional adequacy* indicated the desirability of allocating the area in question to the denomination prepared to proceed on an extensive scale. It is noteworthy that one of the disputants graciously withdrew from this section of the city in favor of the other.

(5) Case E refers to a commendable effort to reduce competition in a section of Pittsburgh that is decidedly overchurched. If interdenominational rivalry entailing waste of resources is believed undesirable, that between churches of the same communion is considered indefensible in comity circles. The case in question had its inception when the pastor of a congregation in the downtown Triangle perceived the anomaly of such a situation. Accordingly, he proposed a merger of his own church with two churches of the same denomination on the lower North Side just across the river. To implement the plan, he suggested pooling the assets of the three groups and erecting a spacious cathedral at a strategic location near the center of the North Side business district. The consolidation was effected, in 1931, with the unqualified approval of the Comity Commission

which favored any effort to lessen competition in this area.

Owing to the depression, however, the original plan for building a cathedral was found impossible of fulfillment. Dissension among the officials of the union church led to a movement to terminate the arrangement after five years of unsuccessful attempts to promote harmony between conflicting groups. But in 1937 two of the congregations reunited under a new agreement, while the largest of the three returned to its old church home across the river. Subsequent developments have shown that the more recent merger of those groups which were not lacking in affinity was most desirable from the standpoint of *institutional adequacy*.

(6) Case F describes an interesting experiment in Rankin, a typical industrial town near Pittsburgh. To meet the needs of the youth of the entire community, one denomination proposed establishing a Christian neighborhood house of sizeable proportions. Another communion at first objected to the plan, believing it would infringe upon its own rights in this area. A careful study of the issues involved revealed that, from the viewpoint of both *priority* and *institutional adequacy*, the proposal was deserving of the united support of all groups. As a consequence of these disclosures, all objections were withdrawn and authorization to proceed with the project was given.

Convinced that changes in the ethnic composition of the population had rendered the traditional Protestant approach obsolete, this denomination resolved to inaugurate a program which would appeal to all racial groups in the community, irrespective of creed or color. But it was the revelations of the Interchurch World Movement survey,¹¹ which focused the attention of the entire county upon the social and religious needs of Rankin. Following publication of the report, in 1920, there were persistent demands that something should be done at once to neutralize the effects of such anti-social influences as were found in the community. A substantial building was erected in 1923 at a cost of \$100,000 for use as a Christian

¹⁰ *Declaration on Comity*, March 28, 1918, Pittsburgh Council of Churches.

¹¹ *Rankin, Pennsylvania, An Interchurch Survey*, Pittsburgh, 1920.

Center. Support and encouragement has been forthcoming from Catholics, Jews, and Protestants alike. As an index of community participation in 1933, when the depression was at its worst, aggregate attendance reached a high mark of nearly 150,000. Since 1930 Rankin Center has been a regular recipient of allotments from the Allegheny County Community Fund.

(7) Case G, the final one in the series, depicts the method whereby an institution located in a transitional area of Pittsburgh adjusted its program in conformity with changed socio-religious conditions. A survey of the "Strip" district had disclosed that more than four-fifths of the population, in 1915, were of "foreign stock" and that nearly two-thirds were Roman Catholic. A discouraging feature of the report was that "the district is devoid of playgrounds. The thousands of children are compelled to use the streets, alleys, and courts about their homes for play space. . . ." It was realized, moreover, that the gangs of hoodlums infesting the Strip were not restrained by ward boundaries and were capable of committing their depredations anywhere in the city. In a concluding statement, the report recommended:

In line with the modern policy of committing the work of each such district to some one agency, Trinity Temple should be given the financial support necessary to furnish the manifold service needed in this community.¹²

It was not until the spring of 1919, however, that plans were formulated to reorganize the work of Trinity Temple as the "Pittsburgh Goodwill Industries." The program was to be patterned after that of Dr. E. J. Helms at Morgan Memorial in Boston. The general principles upon which the institution was to operate were substantially as follows: (1) The church is obligated to meet the needs of the underprivileged as a social as well as a religious problem. (2) Such a service is an essential component of the Christian gospel. (3) The message of religion yields most potent results in cer-

tain situations when accompanied by opportunities for the economic and social rehabilitation of the individual. As an experiment in human engineering, the Goodwill Industries plan is too well known to require elaborate explanation. It is sufficient to say that the purpose of the industrial department is to afford the physically disabled, the socially and psychologically maladjusted, and persons debarred from remunerative employment because of age an opportunity to earn a living during their period of readjustment under a Christian influence.

The Pittsburgh Goodwill Industries of today represents an investment of some \$250,000. Its operating budget increased from about \$3,500 when the work was first started to a record total of nearly \$137,000 in 1937. Thus within a span of two decades, the Trinity Temple project attained the proportions of a big business. Since 1931 Goodwill Industries has been a recipient of aid from the Allegheny County Community Fund, but the major portion of income is from the sale of Goodwill factory products.

Under the comity agreement, other churches have refrained from entering the area and the work appears to have the loyal support of the community.

II. EVALUATION OF THE COMITY PROGRAM

An effort was made to determine the effectiveness with which the comity program has functioned. Admitting that no reliable instruments of measurement in the scientific sense are available for such an evaluation, it is held that an approximation of the truth is possible from analysis of data falling in two main categories: (1) the estimates of church leaders most conversant with the comity situation themselves; and (2) a performance record of 25 years. For the first item a "comity rating scale" was employed having five gradients ranging from "conspicuously successful" to "total failure," with the intermediate stage bearing the caption of "indifferent success." This was combined with a questionnaire whose content was suggested in part by criticisms of the Pittsburgh organization by Dr. H. Paul Douglass in his *Church Comity*, published in 1929. The data obtained in this way were supplemented by

¹² *The Strip, A Socio-Religious Survey of a Typical Problem Section of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*, Pittsburgh, 1916, p. 52.

information secured through personal interviews with men most familiar with the history of comity in Allegheny County.

To insure a more impartial appraisal, however, an objective approach was employed in relation to the second topic. The record of the Comity Commission on specific points was used for diagnostic purposes as a crude index of achievement. Final evaluation of the comity setup, moreover, necessitated consideration of these factors: (1) established criteria derived from the experience of similar organizations in other large cities; (2) the degree of attainment of announced objectives; and (3) the modifying aspects of peculiar local conditions.¹³

CONCLUSIONS

1. Protestant comity emerged in systematic form in the Pittsburgh district in order that co-operative adjustments to changing socio-religious conditions might be made on an interdenominational basis. The desire to conserve financial resources was a primary incentive in the formation of the Comity Commission.

2. Because of its official status, the Comity Commission is empowered to act on behalf of the ecclesiastical judicatories and agencies which it represents. Thus, the Pittsburgh body must be distinguished from those established on an informal, advisory, or congregational basis.

3. The influence of the Commission as an interchurch agency has undoubtedly been enhanced by the presence on the board of denominational executives qualified to speak with authority concerning comity relationships by virtue of specialized knowledge of the field.

4. The policies of the Commission have not been as progressive as those followed in some other cities. This should not be construed as a serious criticism in view of the church situation in Allegheny County. It is widely believed that aggressive comity policies cannot be instituted so long as the conservative ecclesiastical traditions of the district dictate a more moderate approach.

5. A study of a cross-section of seven comity cases disclosed that the Commission has evolved a definite procedure for settling interchurch problems. It is characterized by an impartial survey, reference to precedents, and supported by the sanction of ecclesiastical opinion.

¹³ See Philip Klein, *et al.*, *A Social Study of Pittsburgh*, Columbia University Press, 1937, for interesting background material.

6. It must be considered significant that in none of the sample cases did the Commission base its conclusions upon technicalities, thus manifesting a marked inclination to interpret each situation in the light of its broader social and religious implications.

7. A service record of 25 years, involving the handling of some 50 different transactions in a total of 70 meetings, is evidence that the Commission has been functioning with some degree of success. The fact that in only two or three instances have the recommendations of an investigating committee been challenged by one of the parties to a controversy testifies to the confidence reposed in its judicial integrity.

8. The failure of the Commission to include in its present membership representatives of the Lutheran, Protestant Episcopal, and Negro bodies is a partial handicap. But practical considerations of church policy have prevented these groups from officially co-operating in comity activities. So far as the Negro churches are concerned, they are usually poor, having their greatest concentration of membership in the Hill District, probably the most disadvantaged section of Pittsburgh. Perhaps there are some ways in which the white Protestant churches, working through the Comity Commission, can help them solve their problems.

9. What may be a nominal rather than a real injustice is seen in the inability of the weaker denominations to obtain allocations in new territory. "For he that hath, to him shall be given" is a true statement with reference to church extension in Allegheny County. This situation exists because religious surveys ordinarily reveal a popular preference for one of the stronger denominations. Furthermore, the smaller bodies usually lack the financial resources necessary for putting on an adequate program.

10. The quality and quantity of survey work in recent years have not been up to the standard set in the early period of Commission history. Lack of funds, of trained leadership, and of volunteer personnel are said to be the main reasons why more surveys have not been attempted. Through the co-operation of the Western and Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminaries, the Departments of Religious Education and Sociology of the University of Pittsburgh, and with the aid of the Bureau of Social Research of the Federation of Social Agencies of Allegheny County, it would seem that plans might be worked out for regional studies of the central areas of Pittsburgh that could be utilized as the basis for an aggressive comity policy for these sections in future years.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PERSONS RESPONDING AND NOT RESPONDING TO A MAILED QUESTIONNAIRE*

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Marked differences exist between respondents and non-respondents to a mailed questionnaire. Higher intelligence scores and scholarship, loyalty or ties to the questionnaire sponsor, and a rural background, seem to be positively associated with the tendency to respond. Knowledge of the probable tendencies of bias in response to mailed questionnaires should enable the investigator to evaluate his returns and to phrase his questions and his appeal for response in a more effective manner.

THE MAILED questionnaire is widely used as a technique for gathering desired information. Important in estimating the validity of the data thus obtained are the answers to such questions as: "Who responds to a questionnaire? Are the persons responding different from those not responding? In what respects do they differ from the non-response group?" Answers to these questions are suggested by a State College of Washington study, summarized here.

Ordinarily when the mailed questionnaire technique is used, the composition of the total group is not known and therefore the representativeness of the returns can only be estimated. In the present study, however, certain background information was available for both those responding and those failing to respond to the mailed questionnaire.¹ Availability of this background in-

formation made possible a comparison on a selected list of indices of persons responding with those not responding to the questionnaire. In many instances there were marked differences, in other instances almost no differences in the characteristics of those responding and those not responding to the questionnaire.

Purely for convenience in analysis, the available background information common to the two groups was classified into five major categories: (1) individual's intelligence; (2) his length of stay in college; (3) his community backgrounds; (4) his family backgrounds; and (5) his sociability. Comparisons are made in terms of these groupings.

1. *Individual's Intelligence.* One fact readily apparent from an analysis of the various available indicators of intelligence is that the persons responding to the questionnaire were superior in intelligence to those not responding. Each of three indices,

to which the questionnaire could be mailed. In connection with the study a wealth of background material had been compiled for each student from records available in the Registrar's Office and elsewhere on the campus.

Further analyses of the data are reported by Charles W. Nelson, "A Method of Testing the Influence of Environment on the Relative Success of Rural and Urban Students on the American Council on Education Intelligence Test," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 7, No. 6, December 1941, pp. 743-751; and by Raymond W. Hatch and Paul H. Landis, "Social Heritage as a Factor in College Achievement," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, Vol. X, No. 4, December 1942.

* Published as Scientific Paper No. 540, College of Agriculture and Agricultural Experiment Station, the State College of Washington.

** Acknowledgment is made to Charles W. Nelson, formerly research fellow in rural sociology, for suggestions contributing to the development of this paper.

¹ The study is an outgrowth of a larger follow-up study of the freshman class entering the State College of Washington in the fall of 1936. In an effort to learn of the individual's occupational and social adjustment and his evaluation of his college experiences after leaving college, a two-page questionnaire was mailed during the spring of 1942 to each of the 1097 persons who had enrolled as a freshman in 1936. Replies were received from 65 percent of those circularized. An additional nine percent were uncontacted because the person addressed had moved and left no forwarding address

the individual's rank in his high school graduating class, his rank in the entering freshman class, and his first semester scholastic average, pointed to this conclusion.

Practically three-fourths (73.0 percent) of the individuals answering the questionnaire ranked in the upper one-half of their high school graduating class; in contrast, barely over one-half (53.3 percent) of those who failed to respond ranked in the same upper one-half bracket. A comparison of the high school decile ratings² of the two groups reveals that most of the difference occurred in the three lowest ranking deciles. More than twice as many of those not responding, 26.6 percent, as of those responding, 12.1 percent, placed in the lowest 30 percent of their high school graduating class. The average decile rating in the high school class was 7.1 for the responding group and 5.7 for the non-responding group. As measured statistically, this is a significant difference.

Standings of the two groups on the American Council on Education Psychological Examination, given each entering student at the State College, likewise indicate a generally higher level of mental ability on the part of those responding to the questionnaire. In each of the four lowest deciles those not responding proportionately outnumbered those responding. The figures were 46.2 and 36.8 percent respectively, a difference that could have happened by chance less than six times in 100. Also in consistence with the general tendency, proportionately more of those responding than of those not responding ranked in the fifth or sixth deciles and in the top two deciles. However, an exception occurs in the seventh and eighth deciles. The two groups were almost equal and in the eighth those not responding outnumbered the responding group, 13.3 to 10.1 percent.

² This measure is not quite as satisfactory as the quartile ratings because the information was available for approximately 200 fewer cases. Use of the decile ratings indicates that 74.6 percent of those responding and 53.6 percent of those not responding ranked in the upper one-half of their high school graduating class.

The purely speculative suggestion may be advanced that the exception to the general trend arises from a sophisticated group seeking to show their independence and individualism by failing to co-operate in the study. It was not possible to establish this point, but every college person is acquainted with a pseudo-intellectual element meeting this description. Its members delight in exhibiting their superior intelligence by failing to do the things requested of them and by doing the things they are requested not to do. The

TABLE 1. FIRST SEMESTER GRADE POINT AVERAGE* OF PERSONS RESPONDING AND NOT RESPONDING TO QUESTIONNAIRE

First Semester Grade Point Average	Number of Persons		Percent of Total	
	Re- spond- ing	Not Re- spond- ing	Re- spond- ing	Not Re- spond- ing
0 - .332	31	38	4.5	11.3
.333- .666	70	47	10.2	13.9
.667- .999	112	75	16.3	22.3
1.000-1.332	166	73	24.2	21.7
1.333-1.666	128	44	18.6	13.0
1.667-1.999	77	28	11.2	8.3
2.000-3.000	103	32	15.0	9.5
All Averages	687	337	100.0	100.0

* See footnote 4 for definition of grade point average.

decile rating of this group, if such it is, would suggest they are not the cream of the intellectual elite as they deem themselves to be.

Information on the capacity of the students for carrying college work is found in the scholastic average they compiled during their first semester in college.³ Compared with the non-response group, those responding showed smaller proportions with a grade point average of less than one,⁴ and larger proportions with a grade point average of one or better (Table 1). For example,

³ The first semester record was selected for comparison in order to eliminate the probable biasing effects of differential selection of students in second and subsequent semesters.

⁴ A grade of C gives one grade point, a grade of B two grade points, and one of A three grade points. Any grade lower than C carries no grade point credits at the State College of Washington. The grade point average thus is an index of scholastic aptitude.

31.0 percent of those responding and 47.5 percent of those not responding compiled less than a one grade point average during their first semester, a difference that normally could happen by chance less than one time in 100. On the other hand, 15.0 percent of the students responding compared with 9.5 percent of those not responding averaged the equivalent of a B or better during their first semester of college attendance.

2. *Length of Stay in College.* Those individuals who had stayed in college for at least three years were more likely to answer the questionnaire than were those who had been in direct contact with the institution a shorter length of time. Three indices pointed consistently to this conclusion. Taken in the aggregate, they suggest that a feeling of loyalty to the institution is a factor strongly influencing questionnaire response.

(a) *Semester or Year Categories.* In each semester or year category before the final year, persons not responding to the questionnaire consistently outnumbered those responding. The difference was greatest in the freshman year but continued strongly into the sophomore year (Table 2). The totals for these two years show that two-thirds (67.8 percent) of those not responding but well under one-half (43.8 percent) of those responding had ceased their college attendance by the close of the sophomore year. The likelihood that such a difference could happen by chance is infinitesimally small, about one time in one million, and hence it may be considered a highly significant difference.

Direct evidence in a positive direction that long association with the college brought a higher degree of response is shown in the fact that more than twice as great a proportion of those responding (41.8 percent) as of those not responding (19.1 percent) left the college in June 1940 or at some subsequent date.⁵

⁵ June 1940 marks the close of what would normally have been the senior year for the freshman class of 1936. Nearly one-fifth (18.3 percent) of the entire class, however, was still enrolled after June 1940. This is accounted for by the fact that a

(b) *Credit Hours Obtained.* Information on the total number of college credit hours obtained by the two groups of former students gives a record closely similar to that obtained from an analysis of the data on the time of leaving college. Again the difference between the responding and non-responding groups was most marked at the two ends of the scale. At the lower end, the

TABLE 2. PERIOD OF LEAVING COLLEGE OF PERSONS RESPONDING AND NOT RESPONDING TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Period of Leaving College	Number of Persons		Percent of Total	
	Re- spond- ing	Not Re- spond- ing	Re- spond- ing	Not Re- spond- ing
First Semester	90	83	12.7	22.7
Second Semester	109	88	15.4	24.1
Sophomore Year	111	77	15.7	21.0
Junior Year	60	34	8.5	9.3
First Semester Senior Year	14	6	2.0	1.6
Close of Senior Year	162	44	22.8	12.0
After Normal Senior Year	135	26	19.0	7.1
Still Enrolled	28	8	3.9	2.2
All Periods	709	366	100.0	100.0

non-responding students proportionately were twice as numerous as the responding, 25.2 percent of the non-responding compared with 12.7 percent of the responding group having accumulated no more than 16 credit hours. (The average student load is 16 hours per semester.) At the upper extreme the situation was reversed. Of those responding 29.7 percent, but of those not responding only 13.3 percent, had accumulated more than 128 credit hours. Uniformly in each category below 97 credit hours the non-responding former students outnumbered the responding. Stated another way, only 19.8 percent of the non-responding former students but 44.4 percent of the responding individuals had built up as many as 97 credit hours.

number of students working their way through college failed to take a full schedule of classes, others remained out of college a semester or more, while a few continued in graduate school.

(c) *Degree Obtained.* The final mark of the successful completion of a college education is the awarding of a degree. Measured by this rod, the responding individuals far surpassed the non-responding. More than one-third (37.0 percent) of the responding group, but less than one-sixth (14.7 percent) of those not responding, had received a degree from the State College. Since the extent of this difference is statistically significant, the influence of the degree in pro-

37.6 percent of those not responding were from rural areas.⁷

It had been expected that there would be wide variations between the proportions of those responding and those not responding when the enrollment of their high school was considered. This expected difference, however, did not materialize in any consistent fashion. In only two groups of high schools classified by enrollment were there appreciable although not significant differences between the proportions of persons responding and not responding. Among graduates of small high schools of 100 to 199 enrollment, those responding outnumbered those not responding, 21.0 percent to 16.6 percent. Among the graduates of the larger high schools of 1000 or more students each, those not responding to the questionnaire outnumbered those responding in the ratio of 32.8 percent to 28.7 percent.

4. *Family Backgrounds.* In conformity with the previously noted excess of rural returns in the questionnaire response group, there was a markedly greater representation of children of farmer fathers in the response group than in the non-response group. One-third (33.4 percent) of the responding persons were children of farmers whereas only one-fourth (25.0 percent) of the non-responding individuals came from farm families. On the other hand, the responding group was markedly deficient in its representation of children of skilled laborers, a fact which agrees with the inadequate urban coverage of the responding group. Taken in the aggregate, the responding group as compared with the non-responding group had an under-representation of both the white collar and the laboring classes, although there was an identical proportion in the two groups of children whose fathers were in clerical occupations.⁸

⁷ This is a significant difference, being likely to happen by chance only about 4.6 times in 100. If the urban proportions are compared for significant difference the result is even more convincing, since the difference could happen by chance only two times in 100. The greater validity of the urban difference is due to the larger number of cases in the urban sample.

⁸ Despite the consistency of the trends, none of

TABLE 3. POPULATION OF HOME TOWN* OF PERSONS RESPONDING AND NOT RESPONDING TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Population of Home Town	Number of Persons		Percent of Total	
	Re- spond- ing	Not Re- spond- ing	Re- spond- ing	Not Re- spond- ing
Under 250	72	31	10.0	8.4
250- 999	171	64	23.8	17.3
1,000- 2,499	101	44	14.0	11.9
2,500- 9,999	129	80	18.0	21.7
10,000-99,999	101	65	14.0	17.6
100,000 and over	145	85	20.2	23.1
All Towns	719	369	100.0	100.0

* Home town is that reported by the student at the time of matriculation. It usually refers to the post-office address.

moting and holding loyalty to the institution is clearly suggested.

3. *Community Background.* Former students of rural background responded considerably better to the questionnaire than did those of urban backgrounds. Consistently the responding group included higher proportions of persons whose home towns⁶ were in the several rural classes than did the non-responding group; equally as consistently the non-responding group outnumbered the responding in all classes of urban centers (Table 3). In no class of places was the difference great, but the consistency of the trend gives evidence of its authenticity. In the aggregate nearly one-half, or 47.8 percent, of those responding compared with

* The home town actually represents the post-office address, not the place of residence. It was not possible to distinguish open country and town residence from the available data.

As is customary at most colleges, new students at the State College of Washington are asked to give information on the education of their parents. In the course of the follow-up study this information was taken from the records, but it proved of only limited value since approximately 40 percent of the students failed to give the desired information. For what the figures may be worth, in view of the large proportion of unknowns, it is seen that the responding youngsters came less often than did the non-responding group from homes of higher educational backgrounds. Two-thirds (67.9 percent) of the responding group and nearly three-fourths (74.3 percent) of the non-responding group came from families where the parents had at least a high school education.

A possibly significant sidelight became apparent in the analysis of parental education. Nearly one-half (47.1 percent) of the non-response group, compared with 35.6 percent of the response group, failed to give information on the education of their parents.⁹ It then was noticed that for several other indices large proportions of the students not responding to the questionnaire likewise failed to provide the information required on the forms used in completing their matriculation. Non-co-operation in filling out questionnaires and schedules apparently was a habit established before these individuals came to college.

For some reason that finds no ready answer in explanation, those former students who were 18 years of age or younger at the time of entering college were more numerous proportionately in the responding than in the non-responding group. In each of the age classes above 18 the non-responding group was more numerous. In terms of percentages, 46.3 percent of the responding group and 34.0 percent of the non-responding group

were 18 years of age or younger at the time of entering college.¹⁰

5. *Social Participation and Sociability.* A few indices of social participation were available for a comparison of the responding with the non-responding group. A higher percentage of those responding than of those not responding had affiliated with campus fraternities or sororities, 33.9 percent and 26.3 percent respectively.¹¹ More than likely this reflects a greater sociability and co-operativeness on the part of fraternity and sorority members than of non-members. At least, these traits often are made criteria on which new members are chosen.

For boys only the principals of the high schools from which they graduated were asked at the time of the student's college entrance to rate the boy's purposefulness, initiative and ability to get along with others on a scale where values ranged from one to ten. Consistently the boys responding rated higher in their principal's evaluation than did the boys not responding. The difference was comparatively small in the ability to get along with others, the response group receiving an average rating of 7.5 compared with 7.2 for the non-response group. In purposefulness and initiative the difference was considerably greater. For initiative the averages were 6.7 and 6.1, a difference of 0.6 points in favor of the responding group. For purposefulness the mean ratings were 6.8 and 6.3 for the responding and non-responding groups respectively. Already in their high school days the youths had given evidence of initiative and purposefulness that would set them apart from the average and make them more likely to complete a given assignment.

¹⁰ Such a difference could have happened by chance only about two times in 100. It is probable that the age pattern is markedly influenced by other factors. Perhaps, for example, those who were younger at entrance continued their college education to graduation, whereas those who were 19 or 20 at entrance dropped out before the junior year. This is merely a possibility; the point was not investigated.

¹¹ This difference is not statistically significant, but stated in the reverse it was found that non-members fell significantly more often into the non-response group than into the response.

the differences in father's occupation was statistically significant. The closest to significance was the difference in the farmer class, which normally would happen by chance about 16 times in 100.

⁹ This difference is statistically significant, since normally it would happen by chance about 0.005 times in 100.

Data on church membership indicate results differing in direction from those described above. A slightly higher percentage of the non-responding group, 60.1 percent, than of the responding, 58.4 percent, had indicated at the time of matriculation that they were church members. Probably for both groups these figures overstate widely the extent of actual church participation.

Conclusions. The findings of this study clearly warrant the conclusion that the intelligence of the questionnaire recipient, his qualities of purposefulness and initiative, his loyalty or the strength of ties attaching him to the institution or individual sponsoring the questionnaire, and a rural background seem to be factors favorably influencing questionnaire response.

Differences in characteristics of persons re-

sponding and those not responding to a mailed questionnaire are highly significant on certain indices. Investigators utilizing the questionnaire technique will find of value the probable tendencies of bias in questionnaire response suggested by this analysis. If they can obtain returns from those individuals normally unlikely to respond to a questionnaire as well as from those who normally are responsive to a questionnaire, they can rely more fully upon the accuracy of the data obtained through the mailed questionnaire technique. Otherwise, unless a substantial proportion of coverage is secured, the returns from the mailed questionnaire cannot be assumed to be adequately representative of the universe from which they are drawn.

THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY IN A DEMOCRACY

ARTHUR KATONA

I. CULTURAL LAG AMONG THE SOCIOLOGISTS

WE ARE not apologizing for pointing out the elementary and the obvious.

It is easy enough after the fact for readers to say that all this is simple and evident. We are in good company when we hold that the elementary may be deeply fundamental and the obvious may be overlooked entirely. And, alas, both may be dismissed with a cynical "So what?"

Sociologists make much of the concept of cultural lag. They take pains, for example—and rightly—to show how far the educational system is behind the times. And they industriously go about their business, unmindful of the tremendous cultural lag in their own educational bailiwick. They acquire a peculiar professional ethnocentrism, an ethnocentrism that is lost sight of in the study of other occupational and professional folkways—or folk-ruts when looked at from the point of view of cultural lag.

While the backwardness in college teaching reflects the lag in the entire school set-up, this backwardness is more pronounced in the colleges and universities than in the grade schools and high schools. We take great pains nowadays to train persons to teach in the grade schools, but we scarcely bother to prepare persons to teach on the college level. We step up the standards and qualifications for grade school teaching in an effort to get the best possible teaching personalities. But we let almost anyone, as long as he shows a certain kind of scholarly ability, instruct college students.

Colleges can learn much from grade schools, as we shall note presently, and one lesson would be in the field of teacher training.

Sociologists are educationally backward in a number of ways: training of teachers, teaching methods, textbooks, collateral readings, use of the cinema and radio, and notably, visual education. Some of us are mindful of the situation and take steps to remedy it; most of us, engrossed in "larger"

duties, pay no heed, in fact may wax indignant when charged with educational negligence.

In a time like ours when the social world is very much out of joint, when it is dangerously near the breaking point, sociology should be a much stronger cohesive force than it actually is. It is up to us to make sociology come to life for the student and for the common man outside the college campus. In Dwight Sanderson's words, we must make "Sociology a Means to Democracy."

Our lopsided emphasis on research and publication to the neglect of instruction and guidance is notorious, and some college educators have decried it at length.¹ We go so far as to consider our students as guinea pigs for our special research purposes rather than as personalities in need of counsel and enlightenment. One might well ask this question of research fanatics in our midst: "Are we to use students in order to accumulate researches in our own name, or are we to serve the educational needs of students?"

Voices have been raised among us against our indiscriminate piling up of heaps of research, much of which, it is asserted, is sheer rubbish.² But these are lone voices and cry unheeded. The research pace goes dizzily on.

While we do not preach the slogan "Research for Research's Sake," we nevertheless practice the maxim "Research for the Researcher's Sake." Everyone in our profession knows that mediocre research is more likely to win promotion than excellent teaching.

It is high time that we take stock of ourselves as teachers even if we have to review fundamentals we are all supposed to know.

What will be said below is concerned primarily with the more elementary courses in sociology and with classroom teaching. But

¹ See Luella Cole, *The Background for College Teaching*, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1940.

² Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1939. T. Swann Harding, "The Sad Estate of Scientific Publication," *American Journal of Sociology*, January 1942, Vol. 47, No. 4, pp. 593-601.

our remarks may be applied *mutatis mutandi* to the more advanced courses and to other aspects of teaching besides those of the classroom. To some extent we shall discuss various angles of instruction that are outside the classroom proper.

It so happens that the three most popular courses in sociology, that is, those most frequently offered by colleges,³ may be regarded as elementary courses. Introductory Sociology, The Family, and Social Problems are courses not necessarily calling for prerequisites and, as a matter of fact, in the majority of cases no prerequisites are required.

Very few will dispute the assertion that these courses are fundamental. The introductory course surveys a broad new field of thought and study for the student. Here the thinking of students about social groups is oriented from stereotypes to actualities. In the course on the family some preparation is made for marriage and family life. And no one will argue against the need of preparation for family responsibilities in our day of hasty marriage and hasty divorce. A study of social problems is especially urgent in an era of such terrific dislocations as our recurrent depressions and wars. It behooves us, then, to make the most of our opportunities as educators in a world calling for re-education.

We must face this pedagogical question at once: Are we training sociology majors or educating students? For, too often, courses and curriculums are laid out, consciously and unconsciously, with a view toward training specialists in sociology, and research specialists at that. Inadvertently we put a sociologist's monopoly on our knowledge. We must get away from this traditional practice if we would fulfill our responsibilities as educators in a democracy.

Prevailing methods of teaching sociology may be summarized briefly under two general headings: (1) the lecture-quiz section system of the big universities; (2) the class recitation procedure of the small colleges. Variants of these basic patterns are found, of course, from institution to institution.

³ Raymond Kennedy and Ruby Jo Reeves, "Sociology in American Colleges," *American Sociological Review*, October 1942, Vol. 7, No. 5, pp. 661-675.

The first mentioned method is a mass production technique in education and has been more or less standardized. A professor, who is in charge of the particular course, lectures to a mass of students, and graduate students, acting as instructors, quiz special sections of the mass. It is a dishing out method *par excellence*.

The so-called teachers here, the quiz instructors, are neither trained for their work nor interested in it. For even the best-intentioned quiz assistant is first of all a student and has his eye on the Master's or Doctor's degree for which he is studying. And he works under the influence of the profession's folkways, which put a premium upon research and publication, and so is far more concerned with these goals than with achieving proficiency in teaching.

As a graduate student I have sat in on bullsessions of quiz instructors in which these worthies took their classes as a huge joke. They poked fun at "dumb" students and wise-cracked about the pulchritudinous merits of the better-looking "babes."

A student of high scholastic standing once complained to me that a quiz master conducted his classes in this manner: he would sit unconcernedly up front and nonchalantly ask for questions. Long periods of silence would ensue, which would have embarrassed any teacher with some conscientiousness about him, but which left this particular instructor unperturbed. He apparently could not be bothered with a planned program of exposition and discussion or with a vigorous attempt on the spot to stir up interest.

The above examples may seem like extreme cases, but they are the kind inevitably produced in the given pedagogical context.

On the other hand, those few quiz instructors who love to teach and who go into graduate work in order to get the higher degree, which is the "open sesame" to teaching on the college level, are crushed by the system. They may work themselves into a frazzle trying to keep up with studies, research, and teaching. Or they may give most of their time and energy where it belongs, to the students, and so incur the wrath of their major professor or department.

The mass-production system encourages

the development of the non-teacher and discourages the development of the teacher. Little wonder, then, that the lag in college instruction is so great.

In the small colleges one finds much more variation of the basic pattern of teaching procedure. While old-fashioned class recitation is still the rule, there may be many exceptions. The sociology teacher has much more freedom in working out his program since he is not so likely to be hampered by demands for research and publication and since he is not caught in the machine of mass-production education. He is much more likely to be restricted in the content rather than in the method of his teaching. Local taboos, campus, community, and regional, operate more strongly in the small than in the large school.

It may be said that the extremes of good and bad teaching are found in the small college. Here may be stranded, as it were, the excellent teacher—and scholar—who ranks low on the prestige and salary scale of his profession simply because he prefers teaching to research. But here, too, may be stuck the incapable, run-down, or superannuated pedagogue who is unfit to work on a higher salary level in a better or larger institution. He stays on, a poor and permanent fixture of the college.

II. THE LECTURE

Our recommendations for better teaching in sociology begin with a consideration of the lecture. We shall not dwell too long on the subject since, as previously stated, our main emphasis is on classroom teaching.

Without further ado, we must point out the utter lack of lecture training for lecturers in sociology. As a result, poor speech, poor diction, poor exposition, poor organization are not uncommon among us. The stereotype of the dull, abstract, monotonous, soporific professor has some foundation in fact.

As a college student—and to my later embarrassment as a teacher—I learned to mispronounce several technical terms because I heard them mispronounced repeatedly by a lecturer in sociology. And once, as a graduate assistant in attendance upon a lecture given to freshmen in a social science

survey course, I overheard this remark uttered by a very much disillusioned co-ed in reaction to the inarticulate professor: "Isn't he rotten? And I came to college to hear this!"

Training in the voice, in elocution, in public speaking should certainly be part of the preparation of a Ph.D. who will deliver lectures some day. Where such preparatory training is lacking, summer session institutes for lecturers might be set up. If grade school teachers periodically must attend summer school in order to meet the proficiency requirements of their calling, why cannot college teachers take professional training courses, whether remedial or refresher?

We shall not attempt to set up standards for the good lecturer, but certainly clarity and vigor, both in organization and presentation of materials, should be prerequisites. Touches of informality and humor will help produce that indefinable but highly desirable result called human interest. The use wherever possible of the cinema, radio, and phonograph, of graphs, charts, maps, pictures, and cartoons, of blackboard outlines, sketches, designs, and diagrams is much to be desired.

A lecturer should do all he can to see that the lecture hall is an attractive and stimulating place. Such simple matters as proper ventilation, lighting, and heating are often overlooked.

The time may come when architects, artists, and educators will collaborate in designing buildings, halls, and classrooms so as to provide a beautiful and inspiring setting for the learning process. Until that fond day comes, educators must do the best they can with what they have; and much can be done.

A drab and barren hall for lectures may be completely transformed by the judicious use of pictures, plants, flowers, maps, cartoons, charts, bulletin boards.

The importance of mural paintings in imparting beauty and significance to the empty walls of auditoriums and lecture halls needs to be stressed by educators as well as by artists.⁴ Murals based on sociological themes

⁴ See Arthur Katona, "Murals for Schools and Colleges," *Design*, September 1942, Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 17-20.

would provide an ideal setting for lectures in sociology. Art and sociology come together here to heighten the educational process.⁵ Art vivifies dull academic stuff and sociology puts new significance into art. Out of this mutual enhancement artist and sociologist emerge on a higher level of enlightenment. Literally and figuratively the learning process becomes more colorful and meaningful.

There is much more than illustrative significance in the saying, "Every picture tells a story." Mural paintings that depict social processes, for instance, may not be mere illustrations; they may, and should, give new meanings, new insights into these concepts. It is the supreme gift of art to make things of new beauty and new understanding out of the stuff of life. Mural art can transmute the dead academic matter of our textbooks into live and fascinating exposition.

It would not be difficult for the art department of a college or university to provide mural paintings for lecture halls and classrooms.⁶ Such provision could be made an integral part of the regular courses taken by art students. Teachers and students would work together on projects and theses of the highest practical and educational significance—a fine example of the principle of learning by doing.

III. THE CLASSROOM

In the writer's classroom the entire front wall above the blackboard is filled by two mural panels. The composition portrays the major races of mankind working together in the arts and sciences. Men and women of all the human "colors" are brought together in co-operative equality as creative artists and scientists. The social process of co-operation is thus portrayed in a form that is both idealistic and realistic.

These murals furnish an excellent introductory theme for the opening hour of a course in sociology. Lecture and discussion are enlivened by a novel center of interest. A new kind of pep talk starts the student on the sociological road. An effective pedagogi-

cal variant is to have the students write anonymously their first impressions of the murals and to use the impressions as a basis for exposition and discussion at the next class meeting.

Plants and flowers, appropriately set in corners, windows, or wall spaces, add to the attractiveness of the room. Other decorations such as flags, pottery, tapestry, or curtains may be placed where convenient, depending, of course, on the nature of the room, its uses, and the suitability of the decoration to the available space. One must guard against over-decoration and misfitting; otherwise he may make a room unpleasantly distracting instead of congenially stimulating. Bleak, barren classrooms are so common and have been taken for granted for so long, that it comes as a pleasant surprise, a sort of delightful shock, to enter a room transformed by teacher and student decorators.

A map or several maps may be hung to good decorative and educational effect. A table on whose top are placed objects of esthetic and pedagogical value will brighten a corner. One brings novelty to the room by maintaining a special corner for decorative changes in accordance with the seasons and the holidays of the year.

Selected wall panels provide space for pictorial themes of interest to students. Thus in two opposite corners of one classroom are panels done in pastel crayon, the left panel depicting a student artist (a boy) at work in a studio against a campus background, the right panel showing a student scientist (a girl) busy in a laboratory against another campus background. Traditional sex roles are purposely reversed in order to stress the new functions of women in the modern world.

A blackboard panel at one side of the room makes an excellent cartoon corner. There is no end of material for humor and satire on every campus, and one can have a fresh cartoon (in colored chalk) ready for classes every Monday morning. Campus events and personalities furnish a steady parade of topical themes. Students get a big kick out of seeing themselves, their teachers, local events, and even their study materials lampooned in cartoon fashion. My wife and

⁵ See Arthur Katona, "The Sociology Murals: Art and Sociology Collaborate on a Long-Time Project," *American Sociological Review*, February 1943, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 87-88.

⁶ Katona, *op. cit.*

I, who work out cartoons together, note with pleasure how eagerly students look for the new funny pictures. Here is a good way to start off the Blue Mondays.

A bulletin board or wall newspaper makes for special interest when set up in snappy fashion. It should have a catchy title. We call ours "The Sociology Show." It should be changed regularly, from week to week or fortnight to fortnight. The collection of clippings, stories, pictures, cartoons, and quotations that usually graces a bulletin board must not be a haphazard jumble but should be centered about a special topic. Such subjects as "Fashion," "Courtship," "Marriage," "Divorce," "Youth," "Negro," "Labor," "Varsity Athletics," "Jazz" create definite interest and carry concentrated educational value.

Students can and should co-operate in making a classroom congenial and enlightening. Individually and in groups they may take turns in contributing to the enhancement of their room.

Whether by bringing in newspaper clippings and magazine articles, working out diagrams and cartoons, getting up reports, or changing decorations, all students may share in making a classroom a better place to learn in. A happy blend of voluntary and assigned contribution will make for good classroom morale.

Possibly a number of readers by this time have begun to smile or even scoff at what has been said. Perhaps adult sophistication and adult lack of imagination have dismissed all this as childish and juvenile. There are, as some of us well know, supercilious wet blankets ever ready to smother what appears to their grownup eyes as naive or simple-minded.

Well, we feel sorry for the sophisticates who have lost the naive joy of living that is the prize possession of the young in heart. But the truth is that adolescents and grownups are just as interested in pictures, decorations, bulletin boards, maps, and cartoons as children. Pictures and illustrations are just as effective educationally for older persons as for younger. More, appreciation and understanding of pictures grow with the years.

It is the educator who spurns pictorial and

other "juvenile" devices who is childish. Call his attitude pedantic, academic, fossilized, or anything else similar, he is the grownup stubborn child who will not play such "silly" games. His influence on education is like that of a dead weight.

The arrangement of a classroom interior will of course vary with its size and construction, with the nature of the courses taught therein, and with the backgrounds of the students. In any case an attractive classroom sets the stage for the drama of teaching and learning. Its pleasantness and stimulation induce positive attitudes in students and instructor.

What goes on in this setting is, to be sure, the decisive element in good or bad pedagogy. Let us now turn to teaching procedures within the classroom. We shall note, first, the teaching atmosphere.

The spirit of the classroom may be expressed in the words freedom, friendliness, and informality. The teacher is guide and director in a little democracy of learning. He is sympathetic, tolerant, patient, and clearly intelligible in relation to his pupils and firm and confident in the handling of his duties. He knows his stuff and gives it out so that others may know it. He is open to suggestion, disagreement, and correction, for he is a learner as well as a teacher.

The teacher-dictator is a flesh-and-blood bogey in the life of many a student. He dishes out material to be learned by rote and brooks no difference of opinion; he squelches inquiries even before they are uttered. One old fogey in a certain midwestern college was so bad that a class of students went in a body to the administration and asked that they be given a new instructor. The administration refused, afraid to set such a revolutionary example in campus democracy.

Perhaps no higher compliment can be paid to a teacher than this remark by a student: "I look forward to his class because he makes us feel at ease. I don't feel tense and stiff as I do in other classes. We learn like a bunch of friends."

The good teacher encourages questions and discussions and so makes for a lively and informative hour. Ordinarily, students

hesitate to ask questions because of two fears: (1) dread of the teacher, who may sneer, wise-crack, or think the questioner is stupid; (2) dread of the other students, who may laugh, ridicule, or think the inquirer is "dumb." It is up to the teacher to break down the timidity of students by convincing them that as far as his class is concerned these fears are groundless.

This reassurance may be accomplished in various ways. At the first meeting of the class the teacher makes a sort of get-acquainted pep talk which introduces students to each other, to the instructor, and to the course. The calling of the roll may be transformed into a friendly introduction procedure. An outlining of the nature of the course and the plan of work may be embellished with side lights and anecdotes.

Direct invitation to questions and discussions helps draw out the reticent strangers who make up a first session. Above all, the teacher must consider sympathetically each question and comment and give the impression that no sincere utterance is silly or stupid. To be sure, much humor develops out of student questions and remarks, but when the humor is directed into friendly fun, as it should be, it enhances rather than detracts from class morale.

It will aid the teacher to know his students and to plan class procedure accordingly by getting a summary background of each member of the class. A short questionnaire may be passed out at the first meeting and filled by all students. Such items as the following will help form a background picture: name, age, home address, marital status, father's occupation, religious preference, name of high school where graduated, major and minor studies, college grade average, hobbies and interests.

If the teacher comes a few minutes early to class and chats with students about some current happening, he will set up an active rapport before the session begins. Campus doings and personalities make good conversational material and serve to open the way to a friendly and interesting hour.

While the following may seem juvenile even to some of those who have been reading our suggestions with a good deal of sym-

pathy, it is a lot of fun, is well liked by the group, and builds up a good *esprit de corps*. A lusty song sung by the whole class will start the ball rolling for an enthusiastic session. A good song leader, teacher or student, sets off a jolly co-operative mood, as every group director knows. So why not stir up class spirit in this manner? The Danish Folk School educators have long incorporated group singing into their system and to good pedagogical advantage.

When the class session gets under way, one may prompt students to freely ask questions and to discuss things by interrogating them point-blank—informally and friendly, of course—about various matters in the assignment. One asks what point was most interesting, most dull, most clear or most confusing, what point should be criticized, disagreed with, or further explained. One asks how this or that matter ties up with the student's own life, say with his family, community, club, church, or nationality. In this way study and "life" come together. The classroom ceases to be something artificially extrinsic to the workaday world.

An animated exchange may be stimulated by calling on students in one-two-three order, up and down a row or two, and allowing for queries and comments in between questions. Or, one may quiz a row at a time, student by student, and then allow for question and discussion. Here is fun, a sort of quiz-discussion game that is relished by older students as enthusiastically as by younger. Obviously, there must be no recitation of the old-fashioned grammar school type, or the stiff question-answer procedure employed by the schoolmasters of yore. (Yet some college quiz instructors follow these antiquated procedures today.)

Learning can be fun. Not in the sense of an irresponsible lark or a gay picnic. We knew that there is no royal road to learning and that much hard work is involved in mastering a subject. But together we can strive forward with zest and we can lighten the hard work with touches of jollity and congeniality.

In order to get an evenly distributed discussion going, the instructor may seat the bolder and more argumentative students in

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opposite corners and sides of the room. Their verbal exchanges, volleying back and forth, will incite others to join in. Another effective way of enlivening a class, a way to be employed at the beginning of the semester, is to plant questioners and discussers in strategic seats and have them lead off at suitable moments.

A funny story starting the hour or providing a comic interlude at the middle helps to spark the session. If well handled, this may be made into a regular procedure to which students look forward with relish. Comic story or jolly song is especially appropriate on Monday mornings; it helps break the blue doldrums, traditional for students as for the rest of the population.

Occasional surprise written quizzes (called "shotguns" on some campuses) tend to keep students abreast of their assignments. Most students in time will like "shotguns" and even may express gratitude for them, for in their own words, "The quizzes keep us studying and prepared for each class meeting."

A written quiz should certainly not be a mere information seeker and it should be more than a measure of the student's knowledge and understanding. It should concern items that will make for good centers of discussion and exposition. Quizzes and examinations are periodic stock-taking devices and they also focus analysis and inquiry.

We must better realize in our teaching practice that sociology is a field of study made to order for a close tie-up with life. We should take advantage of our advantages here. To illustrate: our college backyard, the campus, is a cultural world in itself, with its groups, folkways, institutions, processes, and trends. Interesting sociology abounds under the student's nose. The community about the college is another cultural area of immediate interest. Its people, its doings, its problems are the stuff that sociology should be made of—likewise the community from which each student hails. The good sociology teacher easily can relate classroom studies with the things of life close to the student; or better, he can make these things part and parcel of classroom study, inquiry, and discussion.

There are any number of matters in the

everyday American scene that may be used to good sociological advantage. Take jazz music, an outstanding cultural trait in our national ethos: a high point of interest in one Introductory Sociology course is the illustrated lecture on the history and sociology of jazz. The professor has made of the topic a sort of convergence point to which he relates many sociological items. He schedules the subject matter in this order: an hour of lecture on sociological background; an hour of phonograph recordings with explanation and comment; an hour of question and discussion. Students are amazed and delighted to know how much sociology there is "right up their alley of hot jazz."

IV. PROJECTS

The assignment of written projects—reports, term papers, theses—should direct the student to close observational and analytical grips with the social world about him. There is no point in burrowing into library dust when a live new world waits to be explored. The student's home community, for instance, long taken for granted and scarcely considered as an object of interest, becomes a live new world under the impetus of sociological exploration. I have seen students, accustomed as they were to formal book papers, undertake a home-town study utterly at a loss as to how to begin and what to write up. "There's nothing to write about." Then, following counsel and guidance, they get warmed up to the task and wax enthusiastic. "I never knew this old dead town of mine had so many interesting things in it."

After all, a student comes from a family, neighborhood, community; is a member of a class, race, nationality, religion; participates in a playgroup, congeniality group, club, association; absorbs the folkways of his social milieu; is served by a network of institutions; moves in a swirl of social processes; and is affected by the trends of the times. Sociology should make him intelligently aware of his place in these movements and relationships and capable of exerting reasoned influence upon them.

Short projects may be presented by the student to the class, and the discussion that

should follow may be shared by everyone present. In a Social Problems course there is no end of material for reports from life. Such cases as divorce, suicide, illegitimacy, unemployment, delinquency, crime, illness, blindness, neurosis, insanity come into the experience of everybody. By the time the individual reaches college, he knows at first hand several social pathological cases. Under sociological guidance he becomes ready to describe and analyze these cases in a somewhat scientific manner.

A report out of one's own life is by reason of the fact itself a human-interest case. In almost every instance the giver of the report, the class, and the teacher become very much absorbed in the situation. For the drama of life has entered the classroom as a fascinating object of study; it becomes an intriguing problem to be solved. Now, the too common idle interest in that which is gossip, hearsay, scandal is raised to the level of intelligent concern over a social deficiency. As John Dewey has insisted, real thinking begins in a problem situation.

Longer projects may follow the general form of term papers or reports. Incidentally, students shy at the phrase "term paper" because it smacks too much of digging into books and journals, but they take to the word "project" since it has meant something active and interesting. A highly successful example of a semester project is a social study of the student's home community. It may consist of a general social survey or a study of some special aspect. Other excellent human-interest areas are the student's family (or a neighbor's family!), his playgroup, gang, club, fraternity, or church, a process such as conflict, co-operation, or assimilation in his community, a social trend closely affecting his life, or a social problem close to home.

It is best not to start students on a long project until the middle of the semester. By that time the student has acquired some feeling for the sociological approach. His social world, heretofore taken for granted and pictured in terms of stereotypes, takes on interest and a different conception of it emerges. I have observed that by the time the semester is half over, students in the Family course are intensely interested in their own

families and are willing to make written studies of them.

Field trips and visits bring students into the midst of living sociology. Under the guidance of the teacher or by themselves, students may take trips to various institutions such as a local jail, a state hospital, a child clinic, or a state school for the blind. They may go to a big social event such as a political rally or football game in order to take note of crowd behavior. They may observe social conditions such as a city slum or a run-down farm area; they may study the rich and poor neighborhoods in the local community.

A local home sometimes provides the scene of an interesting visit. At a certain small college, a feature of the course on the Family was a visit to a household that served as an excellent example of the so-called stage of the empty nest. The elderly couple was most co-operative and enjoyed the visit as well as the students. The lady of the house took special delight in the whole affair and provided a congenial and enlightening hour for the class. She had prepared a short, informal talk on the background of the family, and after giving it, she showed the group the several hobbies and interests which were making life happy for her and her husband.

Guest speakers and discussion leaders help to enliven the class schedule, bringing newness and variety to the day to day program. Experts, laymen, other teachers, other students—each of these may have something valuable to offer. A social worker, policeman, physician, judge, minister, trade union leader, housewife, mother, father, farmer, old-timer, if articulate at all, will be likely to have interesting and worthwhile things to say.

Guest speakers should be invited so as to fit in with the subject being studied and should be given a definite topic to talk about. Proper timing and organization of subject matter tends to ensure a successful session. If, as is often the case, the unsophisticated layman cannot or will not prepare a "speech," let him come, answer questions, and join the discussion. He will enjoy the informal hour along with class and instructor and everybody will be the gainer.

The question may be raised, what results does this type of teaching bring about? This brings up another question that is vital to our pedagogy. What do we mean by "results" and what "results" do we want? Are we gathering up facts, more information; or are we concerned with values and attitudes? Presumably we want both, but, as the recent directive sent to us by a committee of sociologists indicates, we have been neglecting the values and ideals to which we as upholders of democracy have dedicated ourselves.

While the writer at the moment does not know of any thorough study that may be cited to prove the effectiveness of his recommendations, he can bring forward a college survey and one of many examples of student reactions that do indicate what has been accomplished.

In a midwestern college, where the sociology courses were taught in somewhat the manner described above, an educational achievements survey conducted by the faculty revealed that 40 percent of the students in sociology courses admitted having had their attitudes changed. The next best record was in psychology where 16 percent of the students so admitted. In the other courses the percentages were negligible.

A student wrote a message of thanks to the professor of sociology at this same institution after she had completed a community interview-project. Among her interviewees were a Catholic priest and a nun. She was amazed to discover that nuns played softball and tennis and went on picnics like other human beings!

What better sociology in a democracy than to remove religious prejudices—or class, race, nationality prejudices—and to substitute fellowship attitudes in their place?

V. READINGS

Textbooks in sociology are largely as they used to be: technical, academic, dull, unillustrated. The professional sociologist, in fact if not in intention, writes for other sociologists, not for students and the lay public. Educationally, we have put such a great social distance between ourselves and the people that it will take a complete about-face to start us on the way to communicat-

ing with them. Our valuable findings just don't register. Sociology could be the great enlightener, the great dispeller of bogies, stereotypes, prejudices, but it has not yet spoken an understandable language, to say nothing of being brought to the common man.

Our textbooks stand in need of clear, simple writing, of illustration (photos, pictures, cartoons, diagrams), of attractive format, type-face, headings and sub-headings, of organization and spacing congenial to eye and mind. At the moment there is a disconcerting trend toward huge volumes, virtual encyclopedias whose formidable appearance scares readers away.

Our writing is big-word writing. We put out a bewildering jargon of pompous words and phrases that stump ourselves, not to mention a bewildered public. Everyone of us seems to decry this inveterate bad habit, but very few do anything about it.⁷ Is it always the other fellow's writing which is incomprehensible, not our own?

It seems that our writing at times puts a premium on tortuous, labyrinthine phrasology, exposition, style. We call the verbal labyrinth profound or we excuse it on the grounds of the complexity of our subject matter. Note, for instance, the elaborate and horrendous Freudian terminology sometimes used in textbooks to "explain" an ordinary jealousy situation, namely, the so-called Oedipus Complex. Often we lose ourselves in a maze of words as we struggle to open doors already wide open.

A *reductio ad absurdum* of the verbalism of the academic man was reached in the recent questionnaire fiasco of the O.P.A. at Washington, D.C. Long-winded and incomprehensible questionnaires, many pages in length, had to be explained by long-winded booklets, hardly less understandable than the questionnaires. Here verbalism ran wild, became manic; a certain cult of social scientists had a field day. O.P.A. is trying to struggle out of the welter and now hunts for men and women who can write clear and simple English for others to read and follow.

A simple, direct, forthright statement may

⁷ Cf. Dwight Sanderson, "Sociology a Means to Democracy," *American Sociological Review*, February 1943, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 1-9.

cut straight to the heart of a matter, while the long-winded, big-word approach beats around the bush, in the end to become a tangle of circumlocution. If we must elaborate, it is better to lead off with a clearcut, pithy assertion that sets up a focal picture and then build around this core with the necessary supplementation. We must learn that, as regards the written or the spoken word, our responsibility as teachers is to present ideas understandably, not to run them through mazes.

Here let me recommend as a model of expository style the writing of the Soviet publicist, M. Ilin, whose educational works are intellectual delights for both young and old. His latest book, *How Man Became a Giant*, transforms the scientist's account of man's evolution into a fascinating story without any sacrifice of scientific accuracy.

Among American examples of good writing combined with good illustration are the photo-prose books of Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White. Their *You Have Seen Their Faces* brings the plight of the rural South to vivid awareness.

Perhaps the most moving photo-prose work to date is the magnificent study of the Negro, *12 Million Black Voices*. In this book the eloquent writing of Richard Wright is matched by the superb photo direction of Edwin Rosskam. Two artist-educators, as it were, collaborated to produce a most impressive picture of American Negro life.

The first sociology text to take illustration to heart is the recent *Sociology* (introductory) by Ogburn and Nimkoff. Its immediate popularity stimulated several imitations. It remains the most attractive and readable sociology text to date, though its large bulk is a definite drawback and its exposition in places could stand a lot of improvement.

Ogburn and Nimkoff's pioneer work has been severely criticized because of lack of theory and because of incorrect theory. Such criticism of an introductory text is gratuitous. Our texts have been overloaded with a dead weight of theory for so long that it is refreshing to get a book minus the dead weight. As for correctness of theory, who is to say what theory or theories are correct? Any survey of sociological theory

reveals a welter of conflict and confusion. It is impossible to choose correct theories out of the hodgepodge. Why foist the confusion or a dubious "correct" theory upon the beginning student? Introduce him to the problem of theory and to several leading theories; that is enough for the nonce.

Of the three most widely taught courses in sociology, only the introductory course has begun to use illustrated textbooks. Texts on the family and on social problems continue to spurn pictorial devices. An interesting case of our general disdain of illustration is found in one of the latest texts on the family. Here we get a chapter on houses but nary a plan or picture of a house!

Besides textbook readings we must consider what are called supplementary or outside readings. Often these are more academic than the textbooks. They may consist of books and papers written by professionals for professionals and not at all understandable to beginning students. Source books, for instance, may be largely compilations of papers that have appeared in professional journals and that are far too technical—to say nothing of their dullness—for the student's grasp.

There is much we can learn—if we only would drop our aloofness—from the newspaper and magazine men, from the writers and illustrators in the world of news, publicity, and advertising. Reporters, feature writers, advertising men, publicity men, illustrators, artists, cartoonists, camera men, gag men, can teach us plenty about how to make ideas register. In their own way they are far better educators than the educators.

There is no implication here that we take over *in toto* the techniques of the newspaper and magazine men. We who talk so much about selective diffusion certainly should be able to apply intelligently the principles that we know. Let us borrow those things that can be well used. And, as already has been suggested, we can borrow a great deal.

I often hear this argument in opposition to what has just been said. Why spoon-feed students? Why cheapen our work down to such a level?

The answers are easy. In the first place, the educator doesn't cheapen his work by making it understandable and interesting.

But it does take a lot of work to do so! So we follow the time-worn, and easier, ruts. In the second place, if simplification and clarification of subject matter means spoon-feeding students, then we'll have to spoon-feed professors. Anyone who has heard the wrangles over meanings at professional gatherings or who has read them in the columns of professional journals will readily see the need for feeding pap to the professors.

VI. MOVIE, RADIO, AND PHONOGRAPH

A few words remain to be said about the motion picture, radio, and phonograph as educational mediums. All of us know that the possibilities in these fields, especially in the movies, are tremendous and that the actualities are mighty small.

The educator's imagination knows no bounds when he begins to envision what Hollywood might accomplish for the schools if its genius were to shift from the commercial to the educational film. Every college course could be transformed into a wonder of animate interest. Think of what the dramatic, news, travel, cartoon, and comic film, socially oriented, might do for sociology. What could a man like Disney, in seriousness and in fun, do to bring, let us say, the social processes to graphic embodiment on the screen!

Our visual education departments have made small beginnings in the use of movies for lecture halls and classrooms. We should of course support and encourage the trend. Perhaps colleges in the future will employ movie men as educational aides. No doubt there are fine talents in Hollywood who would be glad of the opportunity to transfer from the trivial, commercial work of the present day to something far more significant and satisfying in an educational institution. Let us hope that colleges will be able to produce their own films someday or to pool resources and set up movie studios for the making of educational films.

The radio is more limited in its educational possibilities than the motion picture. But sociologists can make good use of news broadcasts, speeches, commentaries, discussions, and of those programs of song and music which throw light on the folkways of a people or region. The folk song and folk

story as yet have been used very little by sociologists to convey to students the peculiar flavor of a culture. And, of course, sociologists can broadcast their contributions to knowledge to as large an audience as a radio network will permit.

At this point we must stress the need of working out the popular sociology lecture. Our responsibility as educators demands that we do so. For we must give of our knowledge to the people in direct, forthright language. We must learn to speak plain English, whether we talk on the lecture platform, at the microphone, or in the classroom.

As for the phonograph, it can help in the understanding of the culture of a people by means of recordings of folk speech, sayings, music, dance, and song. Folk songs give us intimate expressions of the ethos of a group. In them a people's heart sings out. Unadulterated joy and sorrow are given free reign. Attitudes and ideas are revealed. Could a study of the American Negro, for example, be complete without a hearing of his spirituals and blues?

As mentioned above, a lecture on the history and sociology of American jazz can be made a high point in the Introductory Sociology course. Here phonograph recordings provide the illustrations and they invariably arouse keen interest. As already noted, students are surprised and delighted to learn that jazz may be good sociology.

In conclusion, let it be repeated that sociology must be brought close to the student and to the general public. The words of Dwight Sanderson that sociology should help build democracy must be well taken. We must act on them. As social scientists in a democracy we are duty-bound to democratize our knowledge.

For sociology has not yet reached the people. Sociology, which studies people and their ways of living, should be brought to those whom it studies in order to help them live better. When that happens, sociology becomes aware of itself; it comes of age. And the people become aware of sociology and of themselves to the end that they can work out a common destiny. They become fellow men in a shared enterprise. This is the profound meaning of the democracy of knowledge in a democratic society.

OFFICIAL REPORTS *and* PROCEEDINGS



CENSUS OF CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS, 1943

The results of the 1943 Census of Research Projects conducted by the Society appear below. The classification of individual projects is based whenever possible on the author's own classification. The items in each section are arranged alphabetically by author. Cross references at the head of each section refer to the serial numbers of the individual projects and are limited by and large to those contained in the schedules.

In addition to the projects reported by members of the American Sociological Society, there are appended the results of a canvass made by the Committee on Social Research of projects of possible interest to sociologists now being

conducted by various agencies of the federal government and by private research foundations.

One of the questions on the census schedule asked the relationship of the project to the war or to post-war planning. The authors were also asked what connection they had, if any with a government agency. A hand tabulation of the former is included in this report. Returns on the latter were too few and scattered to warrant publication.

Committee on Social Research: J. E. BACH-ELDER, JR., JESSE BERNARD, ROBERT N. FORD, JOSEPH B. GITTLER, DELBERT MILLER, PAUL WALTER, DONALD D. STEWART, RAYMOND V. BOWERS, *Chairman*.

RELATIONSHIP OF PROJECTS TO WAR EFFORT

Type of Project	Total	Projects related to:				Projects done at request of			
		The War	Post-war Problems	Both	Neither	Federal Defense or War Agency	State Defense or War Agency	Local Defense or War Agency	None
Total	278	51	61	31	135	19	3	9	247
Social Theory	18	3	5	—	10	1	—	—	17
Methods of Research	12	4	1	2	5	2	—	—	10
Social Psychology	45	9	9	6	21	4	—	1	40
Population	38	8	12	7	11	2	2	1	33
Community and Ecology	45	9	9	7	20	5	1	3	36
Rural Sociology	17	2	9	3	3	3	—	—	14
Family	17	2	6	2	7	2	—	—	15
Criminology	18	1	1	3	13	—	—	2	16
Political Sociology and Sociology of War	12	3	5	—	4	—	—	—	12
Sociology of Religion	4	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	4
Sociology and Social Work	43	8	1	—	34	—	—	—	43
Educational Sociology	8	2	2	—	4	—	—	2	6
Miscellaneous	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1

THE 1943 CENSUS OF RESEARCH HISTORY AND THEORY OF SOCIOLOGY

(See also: 29, 42, 55, 61, 74, 216, 276, 277)

1. **The Theoretical Setting for a Study of the Secular Mentality.** Harry Alpert, Bureau of Intelligence, Office of War Information, Washington, D.C.
2. **Logic, Language, and Sociology.** Robert

Bierstedt, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York.

3. **A Social History of the Theatre.** Joseph H. Bunzel, City Health Department, Baltimore, Maryland.

4. **Class, Caste and Race.** Oliver C. Cox, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.
5. **The East Indians in Trinidad.** Oliver C. Cox, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.
6. **Social Interrelations and Food Habits in the Rural Southeast.** Mary L. DeGive, 1900 Lamont Street N.W., Washington D.C.
7. **"Plousios" and Cognates in the New Testament.** Paul Hanly Furfey, Catholic University, Washington, D.C.
8. **Post-War Planning in Virginia.** Joseph B. Gittler, Room 21, State Capitol, Richmond, Virginia.
9. **A Study of the Changing Philosophy of the Educational Policies Commission from 1936 to 1943.** David L. Hatch, Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut.
10. **Criteria of Status as Measured by Social Announcements in the New York Times.** David L. Hatch, Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut.
11. **The Theory of Social Institutions.** J. O. Hertzler, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska.
12. **Social Aspects of the Peace.** J. O. Hertzler, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska.
13. **The Social Thinking of American Doc-**

tors (1787-1940). Eugene P. Link, Winthrop College, Rock Hill, South Carolina.

14. **Sociology of Music with Special Reference to the Rural Scene.** Gertrude Straight MacFarlane, Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

15. **The Current Transition from a Customary to a Reflective Personal-Social Way of Life with Some Basic Factual Proof: an International, Operational, Interpretive Study of Reported Fundamental Demographic Change in Man's Bio-Psycho-Social-Moral Behavior during the Past 75 to 100 Years or More.** Charles W. Margold, 401 D. Street N.E., Washington, D.C.

16. **The Social Thought of Early Catholics in the United States (1634-1829).** C. J. Neusse, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

17. **Ideology as a Means of Social Control.** Joseph S. Roucek, Hofstra College, Hempstead, New York.

18. **A System of Integralist Sociology.** Pitirim A. Sorokin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

METHODS OF RESEARCH

(INCLUDING MEASUREMENT IN SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIOMETRY)

(See also: 2, 8, 41, 47, 49, 57, 63, 85, 109, 132, 147, 152, 157, 158, 161, 177, 178, 179, 180, 204, 207)

19. **Family Income and Patterns of Living of Farm Families in Henry County, Virginia.** Allen D. Edwards, Clemson College, Clemson, South Carolina.
20. **Sociometric Study of Personality in Leadership and Isolation.** Helen Hall Jennings, Briarcliff Junior College, Briarcliff Manor, New York.
21. **A Comparison of Three Measures of Socioeconomic Status.** George A. Lundberg and Pearl Friedman, Bennington College, Bennington, Vermont.
22. **Study in the Reliability and Validity of the Lazarsfeld-Stanton Program Analyzer in the Analysis of Radio Listener Reactions.** Simon Marcson, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.
23. **Study in the Analysis of the Content and Effect of Radio Morale Programs.** Simon Marcson, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.
24. **The Planning and Administration of Statistical Projects.** Mary Louise Mark, School of

Social Administration, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

25. **Sociometric Testing of Potential Draftees on the Psychodrama Stage.** J. L. Moreno, M.D., Sociometric Institute, 101 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

26. **Sociometric Approach to Public Opinion Polls.** J. L. Moreno, M.D., Sociometric Institute, 101 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

27. **Sociometry in the Classroom.** J. L. Moreno, M.D., Sociometric Institute, 101 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

28. **Sociometric Self-Rating.** J. L. Moreno, M.D., Sociometric Institute, 101 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

29. **Application of Statistical Measures to Trends in Musical Taste.** John H. Mueller, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

30. **Social and Personality Characteristics of Courtship in College Men.** Robert F. Winch, Ensign, U.S.N.R., U.S.N.T.S., Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

(See also: 1, 3, 6, 14, 20, 30, 98, 101, 119, 121, 126, 132, 153, 154, 172, 184, 185, 195, 196, 212, 214, 215, 217, 223, 225, 232, 270)

31. **Public Attitudes Toward Domestic Post-war Adjustments.** Emile Benoit-Smullyan, Post-

war Division, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C.

32. **An Evaluation of the Efforts to Bring About Negro-White Adjustment.** Marguerite E. Bicknell and Margaret C. McCulloch, LeMoyné College, Memphis, Tennessee.
33. **Guide to Information About the Negro and Negro-White Adjustment.** Marguerite E. Bicknell and Margaret C. McCulloch, LeMoyné College, Memphis, Tennessee.
34. **The Identification of One's Own Handwriting.** Steuart Henderson Britt, Office of Psychological Personnel, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, D.C., and Ivan N. Mensh, Granite State Apartments, Washington, D.C.
35. **First Annual Science Talent Search.** Steuart Henderson Britt, Office of Psychological Personnel, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, D.C., and Harold Edgerton, Occupational Opportunities Service, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
36. **Behavior of Users of San Bernardino National Forests, especially with regard to Causes and Prevention of Forest Fires.** Glenn E. Carlson, University of Redlands, Redlands, California.
37. **The Function of Racial Ideologies.** Lewis C. Copeland, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.
38. **Tension-Process and Personality Structure.** Lewis A. Dexter, Committee on Price Control, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.
39. **Sociological Assumptions Subject to Empirical Tests made by Statesmen, Journalists, etc.** Lewis A. Dexter, Committee on Price Control, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.
40. **The Relationship of War and Personality Disorganization.** H. Warren Dunham, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan.
41. **The Nature and Fluctuations of Civilian Morale.** Robert E. L. Faris, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.
42. **A Comparative Social Psychology.** H. H. Gerth, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, and C. Wright Mills, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.
43. **The Content of Mass Fiction. A Study of Magazines.** H. H. Gerth and P. A. Johns, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.
44. **The Apostolic Christian Church, a Mid-western Protestant Sect.** H. H. Gerth, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.
45. **Morton, Illinois, A Community Study.** H. H. Gerth, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.
46. **Social Maladjustment and the Covert Behaviors.** Howard H. Harlan, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.
47. **A Controlled Analysis of the Relationship of Active Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities to the Scholastic and Social Adjustment of College Students.** Reuben Hill, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota.
48. **A Study of the Effects of Insulin Shock Treatment on Schizophrenic Patients as Revealed in their Post-Institutional Adjustment on Parole in South Dakota.** Reuben Hill and A. L. Lincoln, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota.
49. **Selective Techniques in Cooperative Group Farms.** Heinrich Infeld, Rural Settlement Institute, Poughkeepsie, New York.
50. **Factors Influencing Farmers' Attitudes toward a Cooperative Marketing Organization.** M. E. John, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.
51. **Techniques of Social Reform.** Alfred McClung Lee, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan.
52. **Sentiment and Public Opinion.** Alfred McClung Lee, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan.
53. **Leadership, Status, and Prestige in a Rural Area.** George A. Lundberg and Pearl Friedman, Bennington College, Bennington, Vermont.
54. **Cultural Aspects of Trade Union Organization.** John W. McConnell, New York University, University Heights, New York, N.Y.
55. **The Psycho-Social Hypothesis as an Explanation of the Fundamental Changes in Man's Basic Bio-Psycho-Social-Moral Behavior during the past 75 to 100 Years and More: In Marriage, Divorce, Births, Deaths, Infant Mortality, Illiteracy, etc.** Charles W. Margold, 401 D Street N.E., Washington, D.C.
56. **Standardization of a Scale for the War-Time Measurement of National Morale.** Delbert C. Miller, Sperry Gyroscope Co., Nassau Plant, Long Island, New York.
57. **Analysis of Japanese in America Seeking Repatriation to Japan.** Robert C. Myers, Civil Affairs Division, Western Defense Command, Presidio of San Francisco, California.
58. **The Relationship of Sociability to Insight in Psychotic Patients.** Mary Bess Owen, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.
59. **The Social Status of the Japanese-Americans.** John A. Rademaker, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.
60. **World War II and Public Opinion Among America's Minorities.** Joseph S. Roucek, Hofstra College, Hempstead, New York.
61. **The Sociology of Violence and Terror.** Joseph S. Roucek, Hofstra College, Hempstead, New York.
62. **Cultural and Educational Propaganda of Foreign Governments in the United States.** Joseph S. Roucek, Hofstra College, Hempstead, New York.
63. **War Morale of White and Negro College Students.** Gilbert A. Sanford, University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi.
64. **Louisiana Radio Listening Publics.** Edgar A. Schuler, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
65. **Problems, Attitudes, and Desires of Men**

in the U. S. Army. Edward A. Suchman, Special Service Division, Research Branch, Army Service Forces, War Department, Washington, D.C.

66. **Listener Judgments of Radio Programs.** Edward Suchman, Special Service Division, Research Branch, Army Service Forces, War Department, Washington, D.C.

67. **Morning-beam: The Autobiography of a Vai Noblewoman.** Mark Hanna Watkins, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

68. **Analysis of Propaganda Techniques in International Broadcasting.** Goodwin Watson, 1424 K Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

69. **High and Low Morale among Relief Families.** Goodwin Watson, 1424 K Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

70. **Rural Attitudes and Population Changes.** Robin M. Williams and Howard W. Beers, Ky.

Agric. Exp. Sta., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

71. **Community Personnel in Rural Planning.** Robin M. Williams and Howard W. Beers, Ky. Agric. Exp. Sta., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

72. **The American Mestizos of the Philippines as a Marginal Group.** Margaret Mary Wood, Russell Sage College, Troy, New York.

73. **The Russian Creoles of Alaska as a Marginal Group.** Margaret Mary Wood, Russell Sage College, Troy, New York.

74. **An Analysis of the Literature on Social Adjustment.** Verne Wright, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

75. **The Mormon Polygynous Family.** Kimball Young, Queens College, Flushing, Long Island, New York.

POPULATION AND SOCIAL BIOLOGY

(See also: 12, 59, 70, 118, 140, 159, 164, 181, 182)

76. **War Migration in Florida, 1915-1920 and 1940-1942.** Richard Ashby, Labor Division, Farm Security Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

77. **Urban Status of Rural Migrants.** Howard W. Beers and Eugenia Johnson, Ky. Agric. Exp. Sta., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

78. **Impact of War on Population of Eastern Kentucky.** Howard W. Beers and Olaf F. Larson, Ky. Agric. Exp. Sta., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

79. **Social Changes and Trends in Kentucky.** Howard W. Beers and Merton D. Oyler, Ky. Agric. Exp. Sta., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

80. **Rural Mobility in Two Selected Areas.** Howard W. Beers and Robin M. Williams, Ky. Agric. Exp. Sta., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

81. **Trends and Characteristics of Population in the Metropolitan Region of Chicago: 1890-1940.** Lewis C. Copeland, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee (in collaboration).

82. **Population Characteristics and Changes in Pennsylvania.** Howard R. Cottam, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.

83. **Virginia's Rural Manpower—A Study of Population Pressure and Potential Sources of Labor Supply.** Allen D. Edwards, Clemson College, Clemson, South Carolina.

84. **South Carolina's Rural Manpower—A Study of Trends in Agricultural Production and Labor Supply.** Allen D. Edwards, Clemson College, Clemson, South Carolina.

85. **A New Method of Analyzing the Age and Sex Composition of a Population.** Leo A. Haak, The University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

86. **The Impact of the War on Population**

Trends in the South. Rudolf Heberle, Louisiana State University, University, Louisiana.

87. **Human Migration.** Rudolf Heberle, Louisiana State University, University, Louisiana.

88. **The Industrial and Occupational Structure of the Population of Louisiana.** Rudolf Heberle, Louisiana State University, University, Louisiana.

89. **Net Migration in Maryland by Counties and by Age, Sex, Residence and Race, 1930-1940.** John B. Holt, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

90. **Economics of Population.** E. P. Hutchinson, National Resources Planning Board, Washington, D.C.

91. **The Cooperative Community and Resettlement in the Post-War Era.** Heinrich Infeld, Rural Settlement Institute, Poughkeepsie, New York.

92. **Population Pressure, Migration and Resettlement in Eastern Asia Under the Influence of Economic Depression and War.** Bruno Lasker, Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 East 52nd Street, New York, New York.

93. **The Migration of Farm Families from Defense Areas (Indiana and Illinois).** J. Roy Leevy, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.

94. **Movement of Rural Youth in Wartime.** David E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

95. **Mapping of Natural Neighborhoods and Communities.** David E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

96. **Study of Methods of Introducing and Changing Agricultural Practices in Peru at the Tingo Marie Experiment Station and Settlement.** Charles P. Loomis, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

97. **Population Migration from Spanish**

Speaking Villages in New Mexico. Charles P. Loomis, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

98. **A Survey of Fundamental Change in Man's Basic Behavior during the Past 75 to a 100 Years and More. A Survey and Analysis of such Changes as Evidenced in all Available Demographic Data.** Charles W. Margold, 401 D Street N.E., Washington, D.C.

99. **Rural Population Changes in Minnesota.** Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

100. **Size of Family, By Birth Order of Parents.** M. F. Nimkoff, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.

101. **Migration in the Pacific Area.** John Adrian Rademaker, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.

102. **Population of New England.** John Adrian Rademaker, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.

103. **Estimation of the Supply of and Demand for Professional Personnel in the United States in Wartime.** Elbridge Sibley, Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D.C.

104. **Relation of Mobility and Fertility in Two Selected Areas.** Irving A. Spaulding, Ky. Agric. Exp. Sta., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

105. **Population Analysis of the 1940 Census Enumeration Areas in Omaha.** T. Earl Sullen-

ger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska.

106. **Laborer Population in Arizona Available for Farm Employment.** E. D. Tetreau, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

107. **Evacuation and Resettlement Study.** Dorothy Swaine Thomas, University of California, Berkeley, California.

108. **All These People: The Nation's Human Resources in the South.** Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

109. **Construction and Application of Abridged Life Tables for Arkansas, 1939-1940.** Austin Van der Slice, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas.

110. **The Foreign-born Population of Connecticut.** N. L. Whetten, and H. Riecken, Connecticut State College, Storrs, Connecticut.

111. **Age Structure of Kentucky Population.** Robin M. Williams and Howard W. Beers, Ky. Agric. Exp. Sta., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

112. **Rural and Urban Families in Kentucky.** Robin M. Williams and Howard W. Beers, Ky. Agric. Exp. Sta., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

113. **Rural Family Changes in Two Selected Areas.** Robin M. Williams and Howard W. Beers, Ky. Agric. Exp. Sta., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

COMMUNITY AND HUMAN ECOLOGY

(See also: 36, 54, 59, 72, 73, 79, 80, 81, 85, 91, 92, 101, 104, 105, 107, 165, 174, 186, 187, 194, 206, 218, 219, 220, 222)

114. **Impact of the War, and Magnitude of Post-War Readjustment in Several Industrial Communities.** Emile Benoit-Smullyan, Postwar Division, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C.

115. **The "Brass Ankles" (Indian-white-Negro hybrids) of South Carolina.** Brewton Berry, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

116. **Deafness and the Deaf in the United States.** Harry Best, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

117. **Social Change at Willow Run.** Lowell Juilliard Carr, Michigan Child Guidance Institute, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

118. **Recent Social and Economic Changes in the Southern Appalachian Mountains.** Paul F. Cressey, Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts.

119. **Community Conflict and Housing Experience: Implications for Planning.** N. J. Demerath, National Housing Agency, Washington, D.C.

120. **The Labor Movement in Puerto Rico: A Historical Development.** Manuel F. Diaz, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts.

121. **Acculturation in the Sauk and Fox**

Tribe. J. Harold Ennis, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa.

122. **Social Effects of Aviation.** S. Colum Gilfillan (in collaboration), University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

123. **Correlation of Juvenile Delinquency in Tulsa with Other Social Data on an Ecological Basis.** Leo A. Haak and John Ben Holland, The University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

124. **Development of Social Processes in Greendale, Wisconsin, A Government Planned Community.** George W. Hill, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

125. **Wisconsin Nationality Groups—Project No. 352 (Czechs, Finns, Danes, and one German Group).** George W. Hill, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

126. **The All-Negro Community in Oklahoma.** Mozell C. Hill and Thelma D. Ackiss, Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma.

127. **Residential Stability in Tulsa for Selected Areas for Selected Years.** John Ben Holland, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

128. **Planning for International Relief and Social Reconstruction.** Hertha Kraus, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

129. **Neighborhood Shifts in Relation to War**

Conditions. Andrew J. Kress, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

130. **Community Organization for Post-War Planning.** Sister M. Lactitia, O.S.F., College of St. Francis, Joliet, Illinois.

131. **The Social Effects of Good Housing.** J. Roy Leevy, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.

132. **A Statistical Study of Factors Involved in Race Prejudice in the United States.** T. C. McCormick, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

133. **Madison, Wisconsin: A Study of Neighborhood vs. Institutional Ecology.** T. C. McCormick, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

134. **Study of 50,000 Rehoused Families—An Analysis of the Program of Public Housing and Slum Clearance.** Julius B. Maller, Federal Public Housing Authority, Washington, D.C.

135. **Analysis of Census Tract Data—Greater Kansas City.** Ernest Manheim, University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Missouri.

136. **Peoples of the U. S., An Introduction to Ethnic Groups.** Simon Marcson, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.

137. **Trends in Minnesota Rural Churches.** Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

138. **Affect of the Airplane Upon Society.** W. F. Ogburn, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

139. **Factors Affecting the Rate of Wages.** W. F. Ogburn, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

140. **Geo-Economic Regionalism and World Federation.** Maurice Parmelee, Hull House, Chicago, Illinois.

141. **Ecological Study of Growth, Expansion, and Characteristics of Seattle.** Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

142. **Ecology of Voting Behavior: Economic and Social Correlates of Voting Behavior.** Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

143. **The Social Ecology of the Southeastern Tropical Rain Forest of Mexico.** Clarence Senior, National Planning Association, Washington, D.C.

144. **"Visions," a Gee's Bend Culture Trait.** Olive H. Stone, Georgia State Woman's College, Valdosta, Georgia.

145. **Recreation in a War Economy.** T. Earl Sullenger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska.

146. **Acculturation of an Arab-Syrian Community in the Deep South.** Afif I. Tannous, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

147. **Lebanon: A Virginia Community.** Leland B. Tate, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia.

148. **Effects of Wartime Activities on Small Communities.** Leland B. Tate, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia.

149. **Rural Service Centers (Arizona).** E. D. Tetreau, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

150. **Impact of War Upon Arizona Communities.** E. D. Tetreau, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

151. **Absenteeism in Baltimore War Industries.** Margaret Mous Toole, College of Notre Dame, Baltimore, Maryland.

152. **A Quantitative Measure of the Extent of Urbanism in the United States.** Austin Van der Slice, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas.

153. **Study of Human Relations in the Production of Aviation Gasoline.** Phillips Petroleum Company. William Foote Whyte, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

154. **The Socio-Economic Status of the Negro in New Orleans.** Logan Wilson, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

155. **Rural Neighborhood Size.** Frank Winchester and Howard W. Beers, Ky. Agric. Exp. Sta., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

156. **Community Bibliography, 1930-1941.** Kurt H. Wolff and Walter T. Watson, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

157. **A Sociological Study of San Cristobal, New Mexico.** Kurt H. Wolff, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

158. **The Polish Community of Hamtramck, Michigan.** Arthur Evans Wood, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

(See also: 6, 19, 21, 50, 53, 71, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 84, 89, 93, 94, 95, 96, 106, 112, 113, 137, 143, 149, 155, 186, 210, 274)

159. **Rural Population Problems of New York State.** W. A. Anderson, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

160. **The Social Participation of Rural Families.** W. A. Anderson, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

161. **Housing and Attitudes toward Housing in Rural Pennsylvania.** Howard R. Cottam,

Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.

162. **Housing Conditions in Rural Pennsylvania by Minor Civil Divisions.** Howard R. Cottam, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.

163. **Health-and-Decency Status of Housing in Rural Pennsylvania.** Howard R. Cottam and

Anna T. Wink, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.

164. **Regional Patterns of Land Tenure Stratification and Farm Personnel Organization in the United States, 1940, and Changes Since 1930.** John B. Holt and William Form, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

165. **Social Trends in Country Neighborhoods and Town-Country Relationships.** (Project Number 611.) J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

166. **Rural Health Facilities of Missouri.** C. E. Lively, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

167. **Social History of Farm Labor in Southeast Missouri.** C. E. Lively, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

168. **The Handicraft of the Missouri Ozarks.** C. E. Lively, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

169. **Sociological Factors in Land Use and Soil Conservation.** C. E. Lively, University of

Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

170. **Greendale: A Study of a Resettlement Community.** Douglas G. Marshall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

171. **The Country Bank: An Analysis of the Sociology of Finance.** Joseph E. Nuquist, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

172. **Rural Attitudes toward Post-War Planning.** Carl F. Reuss, The State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.

173. **Washington State Farm Machinery and Labor Survey.** Carl F. Reuss, The State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.

174. **Social Change in La Laguna Cotton Region, Mexico (since 1936).** Clarence Senior, National Planning Association, 800 21st Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

175. **Social and Economic Factors Associated with Successful Rehabilitation.** P. I. Wrigley and M. E. John, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.

FAMILY

(See also: 19, 75, 97, 100, 112, 117, 134, 160, 163, 233)

176. **The Familial Adjustment of Japanese-Americans to Relocation.** Leonard Bloom, University of California, Los Angeles, California.

177. **Personality Factors in War Marriages.** Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois and Paul Wallin, Stanford University, California.

178. **Factors in Marital Selection Influencing Homogamy.** Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois and Paul Wallin, Stanford University, California.

179. **Homogamy in Social Characteristics.** Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois and Paul Wallin, Stanford University, California.

180. **The Sociology of Language.** Paul Hanly Furfey, Catholic University, Washington, D.C.

181. **Recent Changes Among Normal and Broken Families.** Paul C. Glick, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

182. **Internal Migration of Families.** Paul C. Glick, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

183. **Three Generations of Pacific Northwest Indians (Piegan Blackfeet and Quinaults).** Norman S. Hayner and Una Hayner, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

184. **Chippewa Child Life.** Sister M. Inez Hilger, St. Cloud School of Nursing, St. Cloud, Minnesota.

185. **Arapaho Child Life.** Sister M. Inez

Hilger, St. Cloud School of Nursing, St. Cloud, Minnesota.

186. **Adjustment of Farm Families to War Conditions.** Charles R. Hoffer, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.

187. **Survey and Appraisal of General Medical Care Program.** New Mexico Department of Public Welfare. Ruth Pearson Koshuk, State Department of Public Welfare, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

188. **The Status of Early Chinese Woman As Presented in the Women's Biographies by Liu Hsiang.** Albert R. O'Hara, S.J., 3303 10th Street N.E., Washington, D.C.

189. **Home Adjustment Questionnaire, (a) Applied to 300 Middle-Class Families, (b) Applied to 100 Prospective Tenants of a Public Housing Project before and after Rehousing.** Svend Riemer, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

190. **Attitudes of University Juniors and Seniors Toward Courtship and Marriage as Related to Selected Background Factors.** Lemo Dennis Rockwood, State College of Home Economics at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

191. **A Study of the Influence of War on the Urban Family.** T. Earl Sullenger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska.

192. **The Religious Factor in Divorce.** W. A. Tyson, 418 Main Street, Tupelo, Mississippi.

CRIMINOLOGY

(See also: 4, 5, 257)

193. **The Whipping Post in Delaware.** Robert Graham Caldwell, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.

194. **Juvenile Delinquency and Maladjust-**

ment in the Disadvantaged Area of a Small Town. Lowell Juilliard Carr, Michigan Child Guidance Institute, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

195. **Force or Coercion in the Treatment of**

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Criminals. Mabel A. Elliott, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

196. **Crime and the Frontier Mores.** Mabel A. Elliott, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

197. **Influence of War on Crime Rates in the South.** Robert N. Ford, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

198. **The Wisconsin Prisoner: Studies in Crimogenesis.** John L. Gillin, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

199. **Parole, Probation and Pardon in Wisconsin.** John L. Gillin, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

200. **Escapes from the Indiana Penal Farm.** J. Roy Leevy, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.

201. **Survey of Crime and Delinquency in the State of Maryland.** Peter P. Lejins, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

202. **Comparison of White and Negro Delinquency in Comparable Social Situations.** Ernest Manheim, University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Missouri.

203. **The Criminality of Old Age, its Etiology, Causation and Treatment.** Otto Pollak,

Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

204. **Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study.** Edwin Powers, Cambridge-Somerville, Youth Study, 21 Washington Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

205. **Are Group Work Agencies Reaching the Delinquent or Predelinquent Youth?** Ellery F. Reed, The Community Chest, Cincinnati, Ohio.

206. **The Dutch Houses of Correction in the 16th and 17th Centuries.** Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

207. **Group Guidance Experiment.** Harry Manuel Shulman, College of City of New York, New York, N.Y.

208. **The Effect of War on Criminal Behavior.** Edwin H. Sutherland, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

209. **Criminal Records of the Two Hundred Largest Non-Financial Corporations.** Edwin H. Sutherland, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

210. **Crime and Delinquency in Ogden, Utah and in Rural Residence Types of Six Utah Counties, 1932-1937.** Joseph N. Symons, Utah State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah.

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY OF WAR

(See also: 8, 12, 31, 37, 40, 51, 60, 62, 76, 78, 86, 92, 94, 103, 107, 114, 128, 129, 130, 142, 145, 148, 150, 151, 172, 174, 176, 177, 186, 191, 197, 208, 278)

211. **Modern Totalitarianisms as Social Movements.** Jesse Howell Atwood, Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois.

212. **The Development of a Sociology of Democratic Living.** Vattel Elbert Daniel, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

213. **Social Reconstruction in the Post War World.** Mabel A. Elliott, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

214. **Nazidom and German Culture.** Max Horkheimer, 429 West 117 Street, New York, N.Y.

215. **Effect of War on Children.** Rex M. Johnson, Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio.

216. **Modern War as a Factor in Social Integration.** Rex M. Johnson, Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio.

217. **Radio in Wartime.** Martin H. Neumeyer, 3551 University Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

218. **The Suitability of Democratic Representative Government for Present-Day China: The**

Correspondence between *proposed* forms, processes, and attitudes implied therein, and those *prevalent* in Chinese culture, in the light also of recent relevant experience in China, with whatever hypothetical suggestions grow out of that correspondence. Maurice T. Price, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

219. **Sociology of War.** Jay Rumney, University of Newark, Newark, New Jersey.

220. **Local Government and Community Cohesion with Special Reference to The Sunland-Tujunga Valley in Los Angeles, California.** Luke M. Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

221. **The Production to Victory Drive.** David Kenneth Spiegel, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.

222. **Labor Problems Arising from Mobilization in the United States with Reference to Existing Labor Standards.** David Kenneth Spiegel, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.

SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

(See also: 7, 144, 192)

223. **The Development of a Sociology of Religion.** Vattel Elbert Daniel, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

224. **The Sociology of Primitive Religion.** William J. Goode, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.

225. **The Shaman as Religious Official.**

William J. Goode, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.

226. **An Analysis of Replacement Needs in the Ministry of the Methodist Church.** Murray H. Leiffer, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

(See also: 38, 43, 44, 45, 116, 163, 175, 205)

227. **Operation of Housekeeper Service in the Family Agency in Cincinnati.** Mrs. Betty Ahlers, 2122 Alpine Place, Walnut Hills, Cincinnati, Ohio.
228. **Medical Care in the Guadalupe Neighborhood, Kansas City, Missouri.** Mrs. Carmen R. de Alvarado, 5 Barcelona, Santurce, Puerto Rico.
229. **The Child Care Information Center of Kansas City, Missouri.** Virginia Arms, Provident Family and Children's Service, 705 Walnut, Kansas City, Mo.
230. **Use of Minnesota Home Status Index in Foster Home Finding.** Mrs. Dorothy Boutros, Provident Family and Children's Service, 705 Walnut, Kansas City, Missouri.
231. **Missouri Association for Social Welfare, 1934 to 1942.** Helen A. Brown, Indiana State University, Bloomington, Indiana.
232. **Children's Unmet Needs for Psychiatric Service in St. Louis.** Alfred Buchmueller, Washington University Medical School, St. Louis, Missouri.
233. **A Comparative Study of Legislation Affecting Child Welfare of Selected European Countries and the United States.** Rev. H. C. Callaghan, S.J., 3303 Tenth Street N.E., Washington, D.C.
234. **Press Releases of the National Conference of Social Work, 1936-1941.** Mrs. Jeanne Dunn Caughlin, 656 South Union Avenue, Alliance, Ohio.
235. **Civilian Readjustment of Men Receiving Physical Disability Discharge from U. S. Armed Forces.** Velma Copeland, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
236. **Field Work Performance of Professional Social Work Students as Related to Standardized Tests.** Mrs. P. E. Crow, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
237. **One Hundred Incapacitated Fathers Living in Aid to Dependent Children Homes.** David Dobson, Jewish Employment and Vocational Service, St. Louis, Missouri.
238. **Factors Affecting the Performance of Workers in the Military and Naval Welfare Service of the American Red Cross.** Wallace Donnelly, American Red Cross, St. Louis, Missouri.
239. **History of Kansas State School for the Blind.** Louise Dowling, USO Travelers Aid, Abilene, Texas.
240. **Budgetary Practices in a Selected Group of Old Age Assistance Cases, St. Louis, Missouri, June to August, 1942.** Cecelia Fay, Family Service Society, St. Louis, Missouri.
241. **Sources of Referral in Relation to Other Factors, Family Service Bureau, Houston, Texas, February, 1942.** Helen Feenberg, Family Welfare Association, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
242. **Employability of General Relief Recipients in Kansas City, Missouri.** Mrs. Nancy Gillis, State Social Security Commission, Kansas City, Missouri.
243. **History of Mullanphy Travelers Aid Society, St. Louis, Missouri.** Norris Glucken, United Jewish Social Service, Kansas City, Missouri.
244. **Factors Associated with Placements of Volunteers.** Mrs. Frances Goodall, Social Planning Council, 613 Locust Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
245. **Social Participation of Recipients of Old Age Assistance, St. Louis, Missouri.** Adolph Gruhn, Wrightstown, New Jersey.
246. **History of Missouri Social Hygiene Society.** Augustine Gunn, American Red Cross, St. Louis, Missouri.
247. **Follow-up Study of Children of Tuberculosis Mothers.** Mary Hayes, Washington University Clinics, St. Louis, Missouri.
248. **Analysis of Reporting Practices in the Social Service Department of Washington University Clinics.** Mrs. Elizabeth Hildedag, 340 Downey, Indianapolis, Indiana.
249. **Attitudes of Social Case Workers Toward the Pressure Group Activities of Their Clients.** Pvt. Nathan Hurvitz, Hqs. and Hqs. Squadron, Nashville Army Air Center (A.A.F.-T.C.), Nashville, Tennessee.
250. **History of St. Louis Protestant Orphans Home, 1870 to 1900.** Ruth Johnsmeyer, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.
251. **Rejections because of Visual Defects, Selective Service Board, St. Louis.** Christiana Lohrmann, Washington University Clinics, St. Louis, Missouri.
252. **History of Missouri Commission for the Blind, 1915-1940.** Lulu Loo, 1338 G S. Beretania, Honolulu, Hawaii.
253. **Day Nursery Intake Problems.** Eleanor Lukens, Auburn, California.
254. **Success of Forty Middle Aged Cardiac Patients in Following the Medical Social Program.** Berneice Lyddon, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
255. **Physical and Mental Incapacity of Parents in a Selected Group of Cases Receiving Aid to Dependent Children.** Mrs. Dorothy Morton, 612½ South Grand West, Springfield, Illinois.
256. **History of the Missouri Training School for Boys at Boonville, 1887-1942.** Richard Peard, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.
257. **Differentiating Characteristics in Two**

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Groups of Juvenile Delinquents, St. Louis County, 1942. Stuart Perkins, St. Louis County Juvenile Court, Clayton, Missouri.

258. Physical Condition and Medical Care of Old Age Assistance Recipients, St. Louis until 1941. David Rabinovitz, Family Service Society, St. Louis, Missouri.

259. Allocation of Community Chest Funds to Private Medical Care Agencies, St. Louis. Yetta Judith Raskin, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

260. Jewish Sheltering Home and Aid Society, St. Louis, Missouri. Lily Rubins, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

261. Closing Cases of Old Age Assistance, January to September 1942, Jackson County Division, State Social Security Commission of Missouri. Antoinette Ryan, State Social Security Commission, Kansas City, Missouri.

262. Social Participation of Social Workers. Alvin Schorr, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

263. Case Records as a Basis for Study of Former Students of the Missouri School for the

Blind. Clara O. Sletten, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

264. History of Missouri State School, 1897-1939. Corey Stephens, P.O. Box 37, Richmond, Indiana.

265. Factors Associated with Discharges from a Children's Institution. Jeanet Swenson, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

266. Civilian Readjustment of Men Receiving Physical Disability Discharge from the U. S. Armed Forces. Mrs. Roxey Tallant, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

267. History of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch Y.W.C.A., St. Louis, Missouri. Mary Louise Tyler, St. Louis Provident Association, St. Louis, Missouri.

268. Budgetary Practices in Old Age Assistance Administration. Mrs. Josephine Wilson, Social Service Department, University of Kansas Hospitals, Kansas City, Missouri.

269. Patients' Opinion of Benefit Derived from Care at Miriam Convalescent Home. Mildred Yanow, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

(See also: 221, 239)

270. Relation of Social Factors to Teaching Ability. Wilbur B. Brookover, Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Indiana.

271. The Sociological Laboratory (as part of a Curriculum Study and the Curriculum for Institutions of Higher Education in Western North Carolina). Joseph H. Bunzel, City Health Department, Baltimore, Maryland.

272. Administration of Community Relationships. A Consideration for Public School Administrators of the Meaning of the Relationships between Public Schools and Other Community Agencies. Paul B. Gillen, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

273. Educational and Social Problems in the Southern Appalachians. (Bearings of the war on these problems.) Florence Louise Gould, Auburn-

dale P.O., Newton, Massachusetts.

274. Social Factors Relating to Rural School Reorganization. David E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

275. A Follow-Up Study of Weber College Student Drop Outs 1937-1942. Walter C. Neville, Weber College, Ogden, Utah.

276. The Application of Social Group Work to Military Education. Richard M. Seaman, 2nd Lt., Adj. Gen.'s Dept., U. S. Army—Student Officer Bn., The Adjutant General's School, Fort Washington, Maryland.

277. General Semantics in Military Education. Richard M. Seaman, 2nd Lt., Adj. Gen.'s Dept., U. S. Army—Student Officer Bn., The Adjutant General's School, Fort Washington, Maryland.

MISCELLANEOUS

278. U.S.A. and Russia (sociocultural analysis and comparison). Pitirim A. Sorokin, 8 Cliff Street, Winchester, Massachusetts.

TOO LATE TO BE CLASSIFIED

Impact of War on Louisville Social Agencies. Robert I. Kutak, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky.

The Informal Aspects of Military Organization: A Study of Social Structure. S. Kirson Weinberg, 5245 Ingleside Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Representative Attitudes of Undergraduate Students of Sociology toward Racial and Ethnic Groups in Wartime. Melvin J. Williams, Albion College, Albion, Michigan.

Quantitative Systematics vs. Logical Inquiry. Melvin J. Williams, Albion College, Albion, Michigan.

PROJECTS IN PROGRESS UNDER FEDERAL AGENCIES

[N.B. Some Federal agencies reported that their work was of a confidential nature and could not be disclosed. Others reported no research in progress. Many of the federal projects included below are marginal at best to sociologists' interests, but they are included due to the current interest in what the federal government is doing.]

I. DIVISION OF FARM POPULATION AND RURAL WELFARE, BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Major activities of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare continue to be centered around the administrative type of research useful to the agricultural action agencies. These include the problems incident to the full mobilization of rural people in the war effort; information to governmental agencies on population and migration, labor requirements and wage rates, available manpower and productivity; surveys of farmers' attitudes and response to farm programs; studies in rural rehabilitation and potentialities of low-income farms.

The following described projects indicate the nature of the research activities and provide an adequate cross section of the Division's work for the current year:

1. **Rural Mobilization.**—Surveys in selected counties to determine the effectiveness of the organization established for reaching rural people with war programs; the people's awareness of the programs and the extent of their participation. Data were secured through personal interviews and mailed questionnaires.

2. **Rural Life Trends in Wartime.**—Thirty-seven counties geographically distributed over the Nation and representing the major type of production areas are being visited at periodic intervals by the field staff. The observations have been and will continue to be centered chiefly on wartime problems of agricultural manpower and agricultural production. These observations provide current information on how farmers respond to Federal, State and local action programs relating to manpower and production, why they respond as they do, and on changes in their attitudes and

responses which are occurring and those which may be anticipated. Data are secured through interviews with informants selected to provide an adequate cross section of age, sex, race and tenure groups within the area. Periodic reports on specific topics are prepared for use at the State and regional level.

3. **Agricultural Manpower Studies.**—These comprise estimates of the effect of the war on the agricultural labor supply and on the composition of the farm working force. Included are estimates of losses from the farm population to industry and the armed forces, the extent and nature of replacements to the working force, the extent of participation of the nonfarm persons in agricultural employment, and age, sex and employment composition of current farm employment. Primary and secondary sources are used.

4. **History and Evaluation of Public Rural Rehabilitation Programs in the United States.**—The basic purpose of this project is to analyze the experiences accumulated since 1934 in carrying on a public program of rural rehabilitation in the United States and to make an evaluation which will be useful in the post-war period. Basic assumptions underlying the program will be examined critically; the development of policies and changes in program will be traced; rehabilitation methods and techniques such as credit, supervision, grants, cooperative activities, tenure improvement and debt adjustment will be described; characteristics of families selected, rehabilitation progress and the rehabilitation process will be analyzed.

II. FAMILY ECONOMICS DIVISION, BUREAU OF HUMAN NUTRITION AND HOME ECONOMICS, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

1. **Family Food Consumption and Dietary Adequacy in Wartime.**

2. **Nutrition in Relation to the Planning of Agricultural Production and Distribution, Including Rationing, during War and Post-War Period.**

3. **Evaluation of Diets of Various Population Groups in the United States, its Possessions, and in Other Countries, with Recommendations for Improvement.**

4. **Estimates of Nutritional Adequacy of**

Food Consumed in the United States, 1910-1944.

5. **Preparation and Pricing of Nutritionally-Adequate Food Budgets that Make Best Use of Current Food Supplies.**

6. **Spending and Saving of Rural Families in Wartime.**

7. **Construction of Standard Family Budgets for Use in Determining Cost of Living and in Establishing Rationing, Production and Welfare Programs.**

III. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

I. DIVISION OF AGRICULTURE

1. **Characteristics of Farms by Income Groups** (co-operative—U. S. Department of Ag-

riculture). This shows the interrelationship of such factors as age, period of occupancy, size of farm, farm equipment, farm facilities, work off

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farm, and major source of income with the amount of income (from two percent sample).

2. **Farm Income, by Income Groups, by Tenure.** Shows the Influence of Tenure on Income.

3. **Abandoned or Idle Farms**—showing the cause of abandonment and year last cultivated, with other pertinent data, such as size.

4. **Farm Location or Identification Project.** (Sample Morrow County furnishes a basis for accounting for all land area and for a tabulation of any farm census data whatsoever by mechanical means.)

5. **Study of Where Farmers Buy Consumer Goods**—Influence of roads, type of farm, income, or farm value, distance to markets, income by soil types, and numerous other market, sociological, and agricultural data. Special tabulation tying in data from five different sources.

6. **Measurement of Characteristics of Different Groups of Farmers**, showing relationship of subscribers for a farm magazine to farmers on adjoining farms, and to county and State averages (Farm magazine).

7. **Tenure by Minor Civil Divisions for State of Wisconsin.**

8. **Selected Characteristics of Fruit Farms by Income Groups.**

9. **Development of Visual or Exploratory Analysis Card Method to Shorten and Improve Research Methods**—Social, Economic, and Agricultural.

10. **Farm Mortgage Survey.** (Co-operative with U. S. Department of Agriculture.)

11. **Proposed—Farm Characteristics by Value Groups, Value of Farm, or of Land Alone.**

2. DIVISION OF POPULATION

Population:

1. **Number of Inhabitants, by States.**

2. **Characteristics of the Population, by States.**

3. **The Labor Force**—Occupation, Industry, Employment and Income, by States.

4. **Characteristics by Age**—Marital Status, Relationship, Education, and Citizenship, by States.

Housing:

1. **Data for Small Areas, by States. Supplement: Block Statistics for Cities.**

2. **General Characteristics of Housing, by States.**

3. **Characteristics by Monthly Rent or Value, by States.**

4. **Mortgages on Owner-Occupied Nonfarm Homes, by States. Supplement: Built in 1935 to 1940. Supplement: Nonwhite.**

Population and Housing:

1. **Statistics for Census Tracts.**

Families:

1. **General Characteristics:** Characteristics of families and of family heads for States, cities of

100,000 or more, and metropolitan districts of 200,000 or more, are presented in this report. Heads of families are shown by race, nativity, parentage, citizenship, sex, marital status, age, highest grade of school completed, migration status and 1935 residence, employment status, and major occupation group. Families are classified according to tenure, size, number of children, labor force status of children, labor force status of children 14 to 17 years old, number of lodgers and subfamilies, family employment status, class-of-worker composition, and family wage or salary income in 1939. Statistics for quasi households, such as institutions, hotels, and lodging houses are also shown in this report.

2. **Types of Families:** Characteristics of families by family type, that is, by sex and marital status of head, and number of children, are presented in this report by age of head and other characteristics of the head and of the family. Statistics are shown for regions and cities of 1,000,000 or more.

3. **Size of Family and Age of Head:** Characteristics of families and of family heads, by type and size of family and age of head, are presented in this report for regions and cities of 1,000,000 or more.

4. **Characteristics of Rural-Farm Families:** Rural-farm families are classified in this report by tenure, occupation of the head, and in some cases by value or rent, and cross-classified by selected housing characteristics, family characteristics and characteristics of the head. Statistics are presented for regions and geographic divisions.

5. **Tenure and Rent:** Data for families classified by tenure and rent and cross-classified by family characteristics and characteristics of the head, are presented in this report for urban and rural-nonfarm areas of regions and of metropolitan districts of 500,000 or more.

6. **Income and Rent:** Wage or salary income in 1939 is shown in this report for families classified by tenure and rent, and cross-classified by housing characteristics, family characteristics, and characteristics of the head. Statistics are presented for urban and rural-nonfarm areas of regions, and of metropolitan districts of 1,000,000 or more.

7. **Employment Status:** Data for families by number and employment status of persons in the labor force, by characteristics of the family and of the family head, are presented in this report for regions and cities of 1,000,000 or more.

8. **Family Wage or Salary Income in 1939:** Statistics on wage or salary income and receipt of other income in 1939, for families classified by characteristics of the family and of the head, are shown in this report for regions and cities of 1,000,000 or more.

The Labor Force—Sample Statistics:

1. **Employment and Personal Characteristics:**

Detailed figures on characteristics of the labor force according to age, employment status, class of worker, hours worked during the census week, months worked in 1939, duration of unemployment, marital status, and relationship to household head, for the United States and for regions.

2. Employment and Family Characteristics of Women: Labor force status of women by marital status and number of children according to age, education, and other personal and family characteristics, for the United States and regions, and for the metropolitan districts of 100,000 or more.

3. Occupational Characteristics: Additional statistics on the occupational characteristics of the labor force, according to education, class of worker, hours worked in the census week, months worked in 1939, and other characteristics, for the United States and for regions. Occupational structure of industries, showing a detailed occupation classification of workers in each industry for the United States.

4. Usual Occupation: Usual occupations of persons in the labor force (as contrasted to data on present or last occupation presented in this volume) and usual occupations of persons not in the labor force, including data for regions, States, and large cities.

5. Industrial Characteristics: Industrial characteristics of the labor force, by citizenship status, and other characteristics, for the United States and for regions.

6. Wage or Salary Income in 1939: Statistics on wage or salary income and receipt of other income in 1939 for wage or salary workers by months in 1939, industry, age, and other characteristics, for other persons in the labor force, and for persons not in the labor force, for the United States, geographic divisions, States, and large cities.

Nativity and Parentage of the White Population:

1. General Characteristics: Statistics on age, marital status, and education of the white population by nativity and parentage, for States and large cities.

2. Country of Origin of the Foreign Stock: Statistics on nativity, citizenship, age, tenure, and value or rent of home, for States and large cities.

3. Mother Tongue: Statistics on nativity, parentage, age, and country of origin, for States and large cities.

Other Subjects:

1. Color and Sex of Migrants: Statistics on migrants by place of origin in 1935 and place of destination in 1940, for States, urban and rural, and cities of 100,000 or more.

2. Fertility for States and Large Cities: Statistics on fertility for regions, States, cities of 250,000 or more, and metropolitan districts of cities of 1,000,000 or more: 1940 and 1910.

3. Education, Occupation, and Household Relationship, Males 18 to 44: Statistics for regions, urban places by size, and rural areas.

4. Institutional Population: Statistics for regions and States, urban and rural, each urban place, and counties.

5. Characteristics of Nonwhite Races: Statistics on age, marital status, household relationship, education, employment status, and major occupation group, for regions, urban and rural, and selected States and cities.

6. Reports on Territories and Possessions: General characteristics of the population for each territory and possession.

3. DIVISION OF STATISTICAL RESEARCH

[N.B. This Division has been recently abolished. The following part of its work has been transferred to the Office of the Statistical Assistant to the Director.]

The research projects of this office may be classified in two groups. Under the heading of sampling research, we are continuing our investigations of the efficiency of various types of sampling designs. This program includes, in addition to the investigation of sampling variances, the consideration of time and cost functions and other administrative factors in developing the most effective design for field samples. The inclusion of such items has led to studies on the relationship of time consumed in traveling to length of interview for different sample designs.

The other group of research problems are those related to enumeration procedures and techniques. The analysis of decennial census experience with enumerators and enumeration problems has been listed in the last census of research projects, and is continuing. In addition, a study of the effects of "non-interviews" on survey results is also being made. To furnish a background of material for further research in census practice and technique, an extensive collection of forms and procedures used in census operations has been assembled and is available for use by bureau personnel as well as by properly accredited students outside the Bureau.

4. DIVISION OF VITAL STATISTICS

A. Special studies and tabulations completed during the census period ending June 30, 1943.

1. Vital Statistics Rates in the United States 1900-1940. This volume is a special compilation of basic vital statistics rates for the 41-year period from 1900-1940. In addition to the tabulated rates there is included an introduction discussing important factors to be observed in the interpretation of rates and indices. The volume will contain approximately 1000 pages and will be released by the Government Printing Office some time during the summer months of 1943.

2. Vital Statistics Data for Small Areas, 1939-1940. This volume has been prepared as a special source book for social research. It contains vital statistics data for individual cities and counties tabulated in finer categories than is usually possible. The data are presented for these individual areas in such a way that they can be combined into studies for larger areas and

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regions and utilized in other ways by investigators of social phenomena. The volume will be published early in 1943.

3. **Special Studies on Comparability of Mortality Statistics.** Several detailed investigations have been made regarding the procedures used in coding, and in selecting the primary cause. These studies will be published only in summary form but the detail is available for the use of persons making studies upon which the last revision of the International List will be based.

B. Studies now in progress.

1. **Completeness of Birth Registration, 1940.**

A detailed nationwide check of the completeness of birth registration for 1940 was carried on as a part of the population census. The figures on completeness are now being released but continued studies are to be made on the causes for this incompleteness. Special analysis of the percentage of births registered will be made by geographic areas and by population characteristics. An evaluation of the methods which might be used in testing the numerical accuracy of this

type of source data will also be presented.

2. **Demographic Summaries for Countries of the Western Hemisphere.** As a part of the war work program of the Division there are being compiled demographic summaries and analyses for each of the countries of the Western Hemisphere. These summaries will endeavor to present for the first time a compact compilation of population and vital statistics data along with an analysis which will reveal the striking demographic differences between various countries.

3. **Mortality by Marital Status.** Special tabulations were made in 1940 which presented mortality figures by marital status, broken down by age, sex, race, and cause of death. These data, when studied in conjunction with the population figures from the 1940 census, offer an opportunity for a thorough investigation of mortality by marital status.

4. **Analysis of Birth Rate Trends.** This study will be an analysis of the trends of age specific birth rates by various geographic areas. Attempt is being made to correct the trends for under-registration.

IV. OFFICE OF EDUCATION, FSA

1. **Education of Negroes, 1942.**

2. **Effect of War on Schools, 1942-43.**

3. **Effect of War on the Colleges, 1942-43.**

4. **Acceleration of College Students, 1942-43.**

V. BUREAU OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS, SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD, FSA

A. General.

1. **Studies (various) of operations and results under social security programs.**

2. **Studies (various) devoted to evaluation of unmet social security needs.**

3. **Studies (various) concerned with the design of a comprehensive and unified social insurance program.**

4. **Coverage and beneficiaries under State and local government retirement systems.**

5. **Relations between cost-of-living changes and social security benefits and payments.**

B. Economic and Financial.

1. **Studying methods of allocating grants-in-aid to States for public assistance according to variations in fiscal capacity and needs of the States.**

2. **Measuring variation in the ability of States to raise revenues for the financing of social security programs.**

3. **Studying intrastate differences in fiscal ability and the significance of these for State methods of raising funds for public assistance.**

4. **Studying economic effects of social insurance pay-roll taxes and relation of such taxes to current outlays by employers and employees for the same risks.**

5. **Studying methods of financing an expanded system of social insurance.**

6. **Analysis of the desirable size and nature of social insurance trust funds in relation to**

5. **Handbook on Pupil Accounting.** (Deals with regulations and practices governing the employment of children.)

their function of preventing interruption of benefits throughout future years

7. **Summarizing and analyzing public expenditures for social security and related programs by all levels of Government.**

C. Health and Disability.

1. **Characteristics of American families—Based on tabulations of the study known as "Family Composition in the United States," formerly a WPA project sponsored by the Social Security Board.**

2. **The need for more adequate medical care, and the opportunity of insurance as the means of assuring adequate medical care.**

3. **The social and economic burdens created by disability, and need for social insurance to safeguard against the risk.**

4. **Medical, hospital and other resources and facilities for health services in the United States.**

5. **Volume of medical care received by participants of certain prepayment medical care plans.**

6. **Disability compensable under State workmen's compensation acts.**

7. **A study of association between certain socio-economic differentials and death rates in certain health districts of New York City.**

8. **Economic differentials among families classified by number of children.**

9. **Analysis of State and Federal legislation dealing with health.**

VI. OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

1. A study of factors influencing personality development in Indian children is being carried on by the Indian Service and the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago. Field work began a year ago in February and is now completed. Analysis and write-ups are now in progress at the University of Chicago and it is expected that material will be ready for publication sometime this fall.

2. A social analysis unit has been established at the Japanese Relocation Center operated by the Indian Service on the Colorado River Indian Reservation. This unit has trained a staff of Japanese assistants, in addition to carrying on field work.

3. A nutrition laboratory has been established in connection with the United Pueblos Agency at Albuquerque, New Mexico. The laboratory is compiling data on native food habits and making analyses of diets.

4. A survey is being conducted of employment problems in the Sioux area in North and South Dakota.

5. We are presently conducting a study of immunization among Indian groups highly susceptible to tuberculosis in the States and in Alaska, using X-ray for BCG vaccine. The study includes the gathering of data on living conditions and contacts.

VII. CHILDREN'S BUREAU, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

1. **The Effect of Labor Shortages in Selected Defense and Agricultural Areas on Employment of Minors Under 18 Years of Age.**

2. **Occupations Hazardous for Minors.** Studies are being made of the occupational hazards for minors employed in the war industries as the basis for establishing advisory standards suggesting where minors 16 and 17 years of age should or should not be employed. Advisory standards have been issued on the employment of minors in the following industries or occupations: shipbuilding, lead and lead-using industries, employment involving exposure to chlorinated solvents, welding occupations, and the operation of metal-working machines.

3. **Statistics on Child Employment.** A continuing study of records of first employment certificates or work permits issued for children 14 and 15 years of age and for those 16 and 17 years of age in States and cities reporting to the Children's Bureau. Analysis of statistical data available from other sources indicating the extent and trend in the employment of young workers.

4. **Standards for Employment of Young Workers.** Material is developed on request for various Federal and other agencies for their use in developing policies and applying standards on the employment of minors.

5. **Agriculture.** Continuing evaluation is made of programs for the employment of young workers in wartime agriculture for the purpose of developing standards for their successful employment in ways safeguarding their health and well-being.

6. **Part-time Employment of Students.** Stand-

ards for the part-time employment of in-school youth under 18 years of age are being developed in co-operation with other Federal agencies and groups.

7. **Registration of Social Statistics.** A continuing study based on the reporting of current statistics showing trend and volume of health and welfare services by 45 selected urban areas of 100,000 or more population.

8. **Community Welfare Picture.** A biennial study of expenditures for health and welfare services in urban areas, conducted in conjunction with Registration of Social Statistics (above).

9. **State Training Schools for Socially Maladjusted Children.** Assembling and analyzing population data for the training schools as of January 31, 1942.

10. **Community Organization for the Prevention and Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency.** An experimental study of the prevention of juvenile delinquency and treatment of behavior problems of children in St. Paul, Minn., initiated in 1937, and carried on by the Children's Bureau in co-operation with certain local agencies. The description and evaluation of the methods used constitute the research aspect of the project.

11. **Juvenile Court Statistics.** A continuing study based on the collection of current statistics regarding cases disposed of by juvenile courts.

12. **Child Welfare-Service Statistics.** A continuing collection of statistics on the service provided by welfare workers paid in whole or in part from Federal funds.

13. **Infant and Maternal Mortality.** Annual analysis of Bureau of the Census and other data.

VIII. WOMEN'S BUREAU, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

1. **Field Surveys of Occupations, Employment and Wages of Women in Particular War Industries.** Currently, Guns and cannon; Machine tools; Shipbuilding.

2. **Characteristics of Occupations Suited to Women's Work in Wartime.**

3. **Occupational Trends and Geographic Migrations of Women Workers Due to War Labor Needs, Availability of Supply, Distribution in War Industries, Utilization for Part-Time Work.**

4. **Methods of Adjusting Plant Equipment,**

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Work Routing, and Industrial Organization for Effective Utilization of Woman Labor in War Production.

5. Methods of Selecting Women and Fitting Them into New Types of War Work.

6. Investigations and Standards As to Health and Safety of Women War Workers. Currently, Suitable safety caps; Effect on production of long work hours; Night work, and frequency of shift changes; Hazards on abrasive wheels; Employment policies for pregnant women; Etc.

7. Special Surveys of Conditions Affecting Life and Work of Women War Workers in Expanded Communities: Facilities for housing, food, transportation to work, recreation.

8. Industrial, Health, Family, and Community Causes of Women's Essential Absenteeism from War Work.

9. Changes in Laws and Administrative Reg-

ulations Affecting Women's Work in War Production and in Industries Supporting Civilian Life.

10. Participation of Women War Workers in the Membership and Activities of Labor Unions.

11. Establishment of Standard Pay Rates Fixed by Requirements of the Job, Regardless of Sex.

12. Field Surveys of the Industrial Employment and Economic Situation of Latin American Women: Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, others in progress.

13. Additional reports as to Women's Bureau investigations and data appear from time to time in the *Monthly Labor Review* and *Labor Information Bulletin*. Also the *Handbook of Labor Statistics*, currently revised. (See for example, *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1942.)

IX. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

1. **Absenteeism.** The Bureau of Labor Statistics is conducting a monthly survey of absenteeism in sample establishments in various war industries.

2. **Handicapped Workers.** A study is being made of the adaptability of handicapped workers to war production.

3. **Occupational Wage Rate Survey.** The Bureau has begun the collection of occupational wage rate figures on a very large scale. Eventually, the sample will cover key occupations in more than 35,000 manufacturing and non-manufacturing establishments throughout the country and will keep up-to-date on a current basis. This expansion of work has been arranged to provide materials for the use of the National War Labor Board. It should provide approximately current materials on wages for a large number of individual communities, not generally available from the Bureau's previous wage surveys by industry.

4. **Industry Wage Surveys.** These nation-wide surveys will be conducted on a smaller scale along the same general lines as those conducted in the past. Probable industries to be surveyed within the next year are shipbuilding, steel, aircraft, and nonferrous metals. In addition, the Division will conduct its annual survey of entrance rates of pay for common laborers.

5. **Industrial Injury Statistics.** Industrial injury statistics are gathered (a) annually for the purpose of permitting national estimates of work injuries by industry and resulting disability; (b) monthly, to give to safety men a measure of current trends and to permit them to concentrate their efforts where most needed; (c) for special industries, to determine the causes of work accidents and methods of preventing them. The annual surveys are conducted by the Bureau through schedules. The monthly surveys are carried on in co-operation with the Army, the Navy, Maritime

Commission, and the Committee for the Conservation of Manpower in War Industries. The special studies are carried on partly through schedules and partly through field agents. Three such studies now underway include shipbuilding, stevedoring operations, and foundries.

6. **Effects of Long Working Hours.** Effects of long working hours on production are being studied in a number of plants. The attempt is to trace the productivity of workers under varying levels of hours in order to determine optimum levels, and what happens to production, spoilage, absenteeism, etc., when hours are moved up or down. The resulting analysis requires attention to the nature of the work, wage incentives, labor relations, composition of working force, and the experiences of the various shifts.

7. **Settlement of Labor Disputes.** Report of extent, causes and methods of settlement of labor disputes occurring in 1942.

8. **Collective Bargaining and Union Recognition.** Extent of collective bargaining and types of union recognition in effect in various industries.

9. **Paid Vacations and Holidays.** Paid vacations and holidays provided under union agreements.

10. **Industrial Area Reports.** Impact of the war and postwar prospects described in a series of working notebooks for areas most severely affected by the war.

11. **Structure of the American Economy, 1939.** Input-output analysis of total national production, showing the inter-relation of the different segments of the economy.

12. **Postwar Employment Problems.** Preliminary estimates of the impact of demobilization and the magnitude of the shifts required to secure full use of the labor force under peacetime conditions.

X. NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD

"This is in no sense a list of projects but it is a list of subjects concerning which work has been done at the National Resources Planning Board during the past year."

[N.B. The whole list is published even though many of the subjects are not social, since we feel the members of the society may be interested in knowing the scope of N.R.P.B. planning.]

Current National Planning

Trends of business and employment
Implications of the national debt
Petroleum transportation
Energy resources
Expansion of byproducts coke industry
Location of industrial plant
Rural land use
Status of Federal flood control, hydroelectric and airport projects
Water supply, sewerage and pollution abatement
Federal sources of hydrologic data
Maps of water projects
Construction related to food acceleration program
Public works programming
Library standards
Human conservation

Post-war Planning

Post-war experience after World War I
Distribution of income at high levels of employment in post-war period
Probable patterns of employment in post-war period
Post-war manpower readjustment
Future population of the United States
Post-war industry prospects
Post-war industrial conversion
Highway replacement and expansion requirements

in post-war period
Post-war market condition of iron and steel industry
Post-war program of public works and improvements
Construction activity in post-war period
Post-war use of Army and Navy installations
Research after the war

State, local, and regional planning

Joint investigations of special geographic areas:
Santa Barbara Area, California
Meramec Area, Missouri
Merrimack Area, New England
Republican River
Puerto Rico
Tennessee-Cumberland Drainage Basin
Arkansas Valley
Drainage basin plans
State water laws
Small water projects
State and local programming of public works
Urban planning demonstrations
Climate of opinion on post-war questions
Post-war reserves of public works
Area planning for:
industry
housing
public works
physical development
public finance
taxation
transportation
population and labor force
post-war rural pattern
forestry
airports
tourways

XI. DIVISION OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS, NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

Two varieties of project are in process at all times: (a) presentation of data based on reports from Selective Service Local Boards and State Headquarters, and (b) estimates derived from these and other government sources.

The field reporting system of Selective Service includes both individual records and summary type reports on more than 40,000,000 men. A partial list of the above (a) projects in process during 1943 is:

1. Number of registrants in each Selective Service Class (prepared monthly, by local board, state and for the United States).
2. Monthly report on classification actions taken during the month (by state and for the United States).
3. The dependency status of registrants in each Selective Service Class (by local board, state and for the United States).
4. Medical defects of registrants physically examined, inducted and rejected, by race (peri-

odic reports by state and for the United States).

5. Occupations and marital-dependency status of registrants physically examined and inducted, by race (periodic reports by state and for the United States).

6. Induction and physical rejection rates by individual year of birth and by race, for specified months (for the United States).

7. Summary of Physical Examinations made by the Selective Service System during Peacetime (Medical Statistics Bulletin No. 2).

8. A Report of Delinquents Under the Selective Service Program.

9. Selective Service Appeal Board Cases, May 1, 1942 to February 1, 1943.

10. Studies of registrants in individual Selective Service Classes.

11. Sample studies of the various registration groups.

12. Selective Service Registrants reporting

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tions, by registration group (for each state and industrial area, and for the United States).

XII. SPECIAL SERVICE DIVISION, RESEARCH BRANCH, ARMY SERVICE FORCES, WAR DEPARTMENT

1. Continuing studies of attitudes of enlisted men which are related to general adjustment and will to fight.

2. Experimental studies to determine the effectiveness of various information and orientation programs designed to maintain or improve morale.

3. Studies of the effectiveness of various recreation and welfare programs conducted in

the Army.

4. Special studies of the problems of particular segments of the Army or of troops operating under special conditions.

5. Miscellaneous studies made at the request of various branches of the War Department on problems of interest to them.

6. Studies in methodology.

XIII. DIVISION OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS, WPA

The Works Progress Administration is in process of liquidation, and research activities of the nature conducted in the past have been discontinued with the beginning of the current fiscal year. At the present time, therefore, there are no projects of a research nature, as such, being conducted.

Two research publications, however, are in process of printing. The titles are: *Getting Started: Urban Youth in the Labor Market and Vocational Training and Employment of Youth*. The research work for these publications was completed some time ago.

PROJECTS IN PROGRESS UNDER RESEARCH FOUNDATIONS

[N.B. The following reports represent all that are available by date of publication.]

I. COUNCIL ON INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

15 West 77th Street, New York City

1. German character structure and interrelationships between Germany and America.

2. Japanese character structure and its implications for interrelationships between Japanese and Americans.

3. Study of national stereotypes.

4. Development of techniques for using still photographs for study and exposition of char-

acter and culture.

5. Development of techniques for analyzing literary materials to throw light on character structure.

6. Development of techniques for analyzing moving picture films so as to throw light upon and serve as an expository device for teaching problems of character and culture.

II. NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION

1. Recreation for Industrial Workers—A field study of the provision made for workers in war industries both at the plant and in the communities where they live.

2. Standards for Recreation Areas in Residential Neighborhoods—A study of the desirable provision of indoor and outdoor recreation facilities.

3. Recreation Clubs for Girls—A field study

of recreation clubs for girls under various auspices in a number of cities.

4. Municipal Recreation Budgets—A study of the budgets of recreation departments in cities of different sizes.

5. A Long Range Plan for the City of Portland, Maine—A report issued in 1943 of a study of the social factors and public recreational resources and needs in the City of Portland.

III. NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington, D.C.

FOOD AND NUTRITION BOARD

1. The Nutritional Aspects of Ageing—This experimental project is being sponsored by the Board and is being conducted at the Elgin State Hospital, Elgin, Illinois.

2. The Nutritional Status of Industrial Workers—This work, although not financed by the Board, is being sponsored by the Board and the Milbank Memorial Fund.

3. Survey on Dental Caries—The Board is supervising an extensive review and analysis of all the modern literature on dental caries. In a broad sense this might be thought of as contributing to social research.

COMMITTEE ON FOOD HABITS

As reported in the *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 40, No. 4, April 1943, this Committee's research interests concern:

1. The content of food habits of special groups in the population, by locality, age, sex, national background, or race.

2. The motivations involved in food habits and any attempts to use these motivations for change.

3. Different methods of changing food habits and methods of evaluating these experiments.

4. Conditions involving food habits, e.g., asthma, diabetes, obesity, anorexia nervosa.
5. Feeding problems and integration of eating habits with personality attitudes.
6. Nutritional status as correlated with social or psychological factors such as education, socio-economic status, occupation, etc.
7. The relationship between the emerging food problems connected with hoarding, fear of rationing, and rising prices and general morale.
8. Techniques which have proved efficacious in introducing nutritional knowledge into community or agency programs.
9. The relationship of idiosyncratic physiological status to food choice.
10. Experiences with reference to group feeding, school lunches, emergencies such as fire or flood, soup kitchens during the depression, etc.
11. The relationship between food habits and other habits such as punctuality, use of time, etc.
12. The way in which giving or withholding of food is used as a sanction in bringing up children.
13. The role of the nutritionist or home economist in different types of community program.
14. Changes in food habits as they provide leverage for other types of social change.

IV. THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

330 West 42nd Street, New York City

1. A survey of post-war needs and demands in relation to the human and material resources and capacities of the United States.
2. A survey and summary of the post-war plans of the governments and other groups in

V. UNIVERSITIES COMMITTEE ON POST-WAR INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

This Committee has drawn up the following list of problems, subject to revision from time to time. This list is being used as a guide in preparing analyses to be distributed to the Co-operating Groups. In addition, memoranda are to be prepared for eventual publication. Analyses of Problems 1-5 have been prepared, and those for Problems 6-9 and possibly 17 will be prepared during 1943.

1. Should the governments of the United Nations at this time formulate and announce a "common strategy of peace"?
2. By what method and through what stages should the final peace settlement be reached?
3. Treatment of enemy countries—Germany.
4. Should there be an international organization for general security against military aggression, and should the United States participate in such an organization?
5. Measures of relief and rehabilitation as related to work of economic reconstruction.
6. International economic collaboration through treaties and other agreements.

A bibliography of the Committee's studies up to the present is included in this *Psychological Bulletin* report.

COMMITTEE ON PROBLEMS OF THE DEAF

Problems under study at the present time are:

1. A study of techniques for the survey of schools for the deaf, by Prof. Irving S. Fushfeld, Gallaudet College, Washington, D.C.
2. A study of the value of class and individual hearing aids in schools for the deaf, under Dr. Harvey Fletcher, Bell Telephone Laboratories, New York City.
3. A study of the effect of individual hearing aids on hard of hearing children in public schools, under Dr. Arthur I. Gates, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.
4. A study of screening methods in the testing of hearing of public school children, under Dr. Harold Westlake, Department of Special Education, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
5. A study on nursery schools, or classes, for young deaf children, under Mr. D. T. Cloud, Managing Officer, Illinois School for the Deaf, Jacksonville.
6. A study of preventive measures in the field of deafness, by Dr. Stacy R. Guild, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland.

the United Nations.

3. Housing America: Problems and Prospects. A survey of the production and marketing of housing in the United States.

7. Domestic economic policies in their bearing on international economic collaboration.

8. Bases of peace in the Pacific area.
9. The administration of dependent areas.
10. Commercial aviation and strategic air bases.
11. Self-determination and treatment of minorities.
12. Protection by international action of the freedom of the individual within the state.
13. Organization of an international armed force.
14. Peaceful change.
15. General character of an international organization, its powers and functions (subject will probably be subdivided).
16. The structure of the international organization.
17. Moral and educational approaches to international peace.
18. Adaptation of the American constitutional system to the requirements of international organization.

CURRENT ITEMS



COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION SUPPLEMENT TO QUEEN'S REVIEW OF ELDRIDGE AND ASSOCIATES' DEVELOPMENT OF COLLECTIVE ENTERPRISE

Professor Queen's review, in the April issue, of Eldridge and Associates' *Development of Collective Enterprise* does not convey an altogether adequate notion of the scope and findings of this study, owing partly no doubt to space limitations. Readers of the *Review* would seem entitled to some supplementary information.

The inquiry had two principal objectives (only one of which is mentioned in the review): "(1) determination, through an inductive study, of the basic factors in the growth of collective undertakings, particularly in the United States; (2) an exposition of these undertakings as going concerns, including the underlying controls, administrative patterns, financial policies, personnel conditions, and so far as feasible their operational efficiencies" (p. v). Professor Queen confined his review entirely to the treatment of the first problem, on which, to be sure, the attention of the collaborators was largely focussed.

Queen gives a fair statement of the rival hypotheses on that problem as considered in the inductive studies; states that we successfully eliminated theories stressing the roles, respectively, of labor, and of managers and investors, in socialization movements; expresses the opinion that we did not, as we thought, also eliminate a "situational hypothesis" (set up, incidentally, by our own group as one of the alternative hypotheses to be investigated); and fails in the end to specify the hypothesis we did believe to be supported, in the main, by the evidence.

According to this hypothesis, "extensions of collective enterprise (in which capital is owned by groups, not by individuals) are effected *mainly* and *primarily* through the pressure of consumer and/or general public needs or interests; although all other major categories of economic and social interests will operate variously as minor, secondary, auxiliary, derivative, or conditioning factors in processes of collectivization" (p. 5). According to our formulation of

the competing situational hypothesis, "it is the total complex of economic and related interests that determines collectivistic developments, and . . . no single interest or combination of interests (e.g., labor, or consumer and public) is the 'primary' factor in all cases of socialization" (p. 7). Obviously these hypotheses differ only as to the specific group interests operating as the "primary" factor in processes of socialization. Moreover, it was recognized that a settlement of this question turned on the definition of the term "primary factor": "If it signifies that which *initiates* a socialization process, the conclusion will be one thing; if, instead, it means that which governs the kind, growth, and amount of collective enterprise, the conclusion will be quite another thing. The latter conception has the merit of denoting the final and decisive controls of the process, and has for that reason been followed in the interpretation of our results" (p. 541).

Thus construed, the natural histories of the vast array of socialized enterprises studied by the group were found to support the hypothesis of consumer and public interests as the primary socializing factors, with the exception (a negligible one in this country) of producers' co-operatives employing their own members. It was, however, expressly and repeatedly emphasized that the culture base, the intellectual and organizational leadership, and all other major components of a social situation where socialization occurs are involved in the process and, indeed, make the process possible. Identification of "primary factors" in the sense defined had in view the specification of the functional groupings in society that, given a situation permitting socialization, govern the direction and tempo of the process. Rival theories have been formulated on a like basis. So far as an inductive study at this stage may throw light on the question, it is not the laboring nor the managerial class, but consumers and citizens that are building a collective economy in the United States, and one destined to become predominant in no very distant future.

SEBA ELDRIDGE

University of Kansas

RESEARCH NOTES

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PRESTIGE IN SIX PROFESSIONS

MEYER F. NIMKOFF
Bucknell University

Do persons engaged in various professions have equal chances of achieving prestige? An examination of six professional groups (actors, musicians, college professors, engineers, military officers, and physicians) listed in *Who's Who*, 1942-43 throws light on this question. If it is correct to assume that mention in *Who's Who* is an evidence of unusual professional recognition or prestige, then the "prestige possibilities" of the professions may be ascertained by comparing the number of members of these professions listed in *Who's Who* and their total number in the United States for the same year. The data for such a comparison appear in Table 1.

Examination of the data shows that actors are represented in *Who's Who* in about the same proportion as they are in the total population of the six professions in question, and the same is true for physicians. That is to say, actors and physicians are represented in proportion to their numbers. Musicians and engineers are underrepresented in *Who's Who*, while college professors and military officers are overrepresented. There are less than a third as many musicians in *Who's Who* as their numbers would warrant, and less than one-half as many engineers. On the other hand, commissioned officers in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard have nearly three times their share of listings, and college professors nearly four times their share.

Another way to note the relative standing of the six professions is to observe the proportion of each group in *Who's Who*. Of actors in the

United States in 1940, somewhat fewer than 1 to 100 were listed. The proportion for musicians was somewhat less than 1 in 300; engineers, around 1 in 250; physicians, 1 in 110; military officers, 1 in 38; and college professors, 1 in 28.

These figures show that the chances of obtaining recognition in *Who's Who* are very uneven so far as the six professions under consideration are concerned. The chances are least for musicians and greatest for college professors. A college professor's chances of making *Who's Who* are four times as good as a doctor's, nine times as good as an engineer's, eleven times as good as a musician's. Even a military officer's chances are only about two-thirds as good as a college professor's.

As to why college professors rate so high, we have no definite knowledge and must resort to speculation. Perhaps the most plausible reason is that college professors represent an upper stratum of a larger profession, namely teaching, while actors, musicians, engineers and physicians represent entire professions. Another possibility is that there is some selection involved and that many highly capable persons are drawn off from the other professional pools into the pool of college teaching. Some of the most capable physicians become professors of medicine, and doubtless a similar process operates in the case of musicians, engineers, and military officers. Another possible factor may be the variations in the prerequisites for the several professions. The large number of persons who list themselves as musicians (148,809 in 1940), as compared to the number (18,205) who gave their occupation as actors, suggests that standards for acting are probably more rigorous than those for music. If the profession of acting is more selective, this may account for the larger proportion of actors listed in *Who's Who*. The same consideration may apply to engineers, who form the largest group studied. They are more numerous than doctors, and an important reason may be the shorter period of training required, as well as the greater social demand. This point cannot be carried too far, however, for medicine is probably more exacting in its standards than acting, yet the proportions in *Who's Who* are about the same for both.

Another factor, perhaps, is that certain professional groups have the advantage of being associated with organizations which have a long and favorable tradition, rich resources, and a system of rewards and promotions which stimulate creativeness. Colleges provide such an environment for college professors, and the armed

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN SIX PROFESSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940, AND NUMBER LISTED IN *WHO'S WHO*, 1942-43

Professional Group	Number in U. S.	Per cent	Number in <i>Who's Who</i> *	Per cent
Actors	18,205	2.6	175	2.7
Musicians	148,809	21.6	435	6.6
College Professors	73,928	10.8	2,615	39.7
Engineers	254,522	37.0	1,135	17.2
Military Officers	26,738	3.9	685	10.4
Physicians	165,363	24.1	1,545	23.4
Totals	687,585	100.0	6,590	100.0

* Estimate based on a 20 percent random sample.

services do the same for military officers. On the other hand, actors, musicians, engineers, and physicians are generally free lances, without institutional ties, and must depend more largely upon their own unsupported efforts for achievement.

Discussion of the problem of occupational variation in probabilities of winning prestige would, however, be unrealistic without attention to the bases of selection for mention in *Who's Who*. These bases are not wholly objective.* One may seek, therefore, for explanations of the selections themselves which are not entirely reasonable or justifiable. Perhaps college professors are so well represented because the method and basis of selection is such as to favor them. In order to be considered for *Who's Who*, one's name and claim must, of course, be brought to the attention of the editors, and this is perhaps more likely to occur where one is tied up with an organization like a college whose administrative officers take the lead in making referrals. College professors also write more books and articles than do other professional workers, which brings them into greater public prominence. College professors, finally, have a lot of experience in completing questionnaires. Hence it would be interesting to know what percentage of requests from *Who's Who* for biographies are heeded by the members of the different professions, what percentage ignored. This factor is probably not very important, however, since it is unlikely that invitations to *Who's Who* are rejected in any considerable number.

Whether selections for *Who's Who* are justified or not, they represent, as the data of this study indicate, extreme variations in prestige-rating for various professions, which fact is not without social significance.

A final comment. The question arises as to whether the above method of measuring the prestige of a profession by the percentage of its members who attain *Who's Who* is as fair as is some method which rates the profession as a whole. The question is an important one and is not easily answered, but some light has been thrown upon it by a recent study which compares the two types of approach. (Mapheus

Smith, "An Empirical Scale of Prestige Status of Occupations," *American Sociological Review*, 1943, 8:185-92.) This study finds considerable similarity between average prestige status ratings for certain occupations and their rank in per capita contribution to *Who's Who*. The rank-order correlation coefficient of the two sets of ratings is $.79 \pm .054$, despite large divergences in the two ratings in the case of certain occupations. However, comparison of the Mapheus Smith findings and those of the present study are not possible because of differences in the occupational groups considered.

A STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF ODD-SHIFTS UPON THE FOOD HABITS OF WAR WORKERS

A summary of a project prepared by GLADYS ENGEL-FRISCH under the direction of the Committee on Food Habits, *National Research Council*, Washington, D.C., August 7, 1942.

Changing occupational rhythms are bringing about changes in the food habits of war workers throughout the country. In February of 1942, 40 percent of all war workers were on atypical work shifts. A study of 108 war workers in Seattle and Bremerton, Washington, attempted to answer two questions concerning the effects of these atypical shifts: (1) what are the implications for food habits of working on one of the two atypical work shifts; (2) what indications are there of ways in which these dislocations in food habits can be compensated for if the effect is found to be bad, or taken advantage of, if the effect is found to be good? Seattle and Bremerton, being typical defense boom towns, present pictures of the problems facing the average odd-shift worker.

Shifts are generally spoken of as the first, second, and third shifts. In general, the first, or day shift, starts between 6:30 A.M. and 8:00 A.M. and runs until 3:00 P.M. or 4:30 P.M. The second or swing shift begins when the day shift ends and ends about midnight or 1:00 A.M. The night or graveyard shift begins at the end of the swing shift and ends at the beginning of the day shift. While hours on the odd-shifts differ for the individual workers, they are similar enough so that one can speak of the swing shift worker or the graveyard shift worker.

Although the "typical" worker is now on an odd-shift, there is almost an even chance that he still prefers the day shift. He decidedly prefers the swing shift as opposed to the graveyard

* Standards for admission to *Who's Who* are of two sorts: (1) special prominence in creditable lines of effort, making one the subject of extensive interest, inquiry, or discussion in this country; and (2) arbitrary inclusion on account of official position—civil, military, religious, or educational. College professors are presumably chosen on the first basis; military officers, on the second.

shift. Advantages relating to sleeping appear to be the reason most often given for shift preference. The advantage of sleeping late in the morning appears to be a significant reason for the preference of the swing shift over the graveyard shift. However, when both advantages as to sleeping and eating are considered, he definitely prefers the regular day shift to either odd-shift. The day shift is "natural" to him.

In comparing adjustments made in food habits on the two principal types of odd-shifts, food habits are found to be integrally related to sleeping habits. The worker attempts to adjust his food habits to the "normal" day with as little substitution and change as possible. The swing shifter sleeps during the night, following the usual pattern. If he eats before he retires, he eats a snack as most people will do in the early morning hours. Upon waking, since it is morning, and since he has just risen, he makes his first meal breakfast. If he eats about noon or later in the afternoon, the next meal, because of the time factor, is more likely to be lunch or dinner. Likewise, the graveyard shifter makes his first meal in the morning (if one is eaten) breakfast. He then sleeps and wakes for the family dinner in late afternoon. While a few odd-shifters substitute breakfast for dinner, or vice versa, in general, workers on both shifts attempt to fit their new occupational rhythms to the old one. Time of day, because of tradition, is the most important factor determining what kind of a meal will be eaten, except in the case of the meal eaten at the plant where tradition alone determines the meal to be eaten. Since traditional times of eating are most changed in the swing shift, food habit adjustment is more difficult on that shift than on the night shift. Estimation is that from one-half to three-fourths of the odd-shift workers lack proper nutrition, but there is no significant difference between the two shifts.

Complaints and suggestions from the worker center about cafeteria conditions, lengthening of lunch periods, variety in box lunches, the need of nursery schools, and family relationship problems precipitated by odd-shift conditions. He does not think a 15 minute lunch period is long enough, although a half-hour appears to be sufficient. He gets tired of the lack of variety in his box lunch, and wants a hot meal on a cold day. A cafeteria, to compete with the box lunch, must serve varied, tasty food, at a reasonable price, in the short lunch period. Family problems arise when children work on different shifts than the father, where the wife is on another

shift, and when there are small children whose sleeping habits differ from the worker's. Nursery schools were suggested as a partial solution of the problem.

Problem areas, then, center about these points: poor plant cafeterias; no cafeteria; poor restaurants in the plant area, often inaccessible; lack of eating facilities for the graveyard shifters; failure of older workers to adjust eating and sleeping habits to odd-shift requirements; difficulty of food-habit adjustment on the swing shift; difficulty of sleeping adjustment on the graveyard shift; nutritional deficiencies on both shifts; interference of recreational needs with physical needs, and vice versa, family problems caused by the new occupational rhythms.

Trends in hiring at the present time point to an increasing number of women entering industry as the war continues, an increasing proportion of older men remaining in industry as young men are called to active military service, and an increasing proportion of workers on odd-shifts as war industries become continuous-process industries.

In order to meet the problems arising from these changes, recommendations called for include: at least a half-hour period, preferably with pay, if efficiency is actually found to be speeded by the longer period of time; adequate cafeteria service for all shifts; sale of well-balanced lunches in plants; nutritional education for heads of families and of boarding houses; an industrial policy of putting older men on day shift except where odd-shift is specifically requested; pooling of information concerning daily schedules through governmental studies and trade-union workers, followed by suggestions to workers; co-operation between agencies interested in recreational and food habits; segregation of workers on separate shifts, where possible, in boarding houses and in governmental defense housing projects; well-equipped, adequately-staffed nursery schools for small children; careful consideration of requests for shift-change where reason centers about shift-status of other members of the family.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL LABORATORY: A NOTE ON A PROGRAM OF ACTION*

JOSEPH H. BUNZEL
Baltimore

A. Sociology has evolved from its philosophical to scientific forms and can express valid

* This note is the quintessence of one of the recommendations made in the report of the Self-

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predictions in a quantitative manner. It must continue to do just that and *apply* its growing understanding of society as it studies the structure and functioning of institutions, agencies and groups. Sociology however, and sociologists no less, are seriously hampered by lack of understanding from outside and of integration inside the field. A sociological laboratory as conceived in this note and as essayed in Asheville could increase the working knowledge and effectiveness of socially minded persons and groups if given a fair trial under peaceful circumstances.

There are three main avenues of attack. (1) Sociologists have concentrated on research, accumulating valuable knowledge that could be used as basis for community and national service. They continue to study, publish and discuss important problems of social change and social organization, but do not always work together closely enough for an integrated application of their findings. (2) Many agencies, public and private, specifically for welfare, health, and education, serve the common interest of "the common man" earnestly in their own sphere according to their insight. Because of their isolation in the complex structure of our society—which is both historically and institutionally organized—the efforts of these agencies are often limited, sometimes wasted, almost always duplicated. (3) Within the educational institutions which aim to teach at least something of social life, and particularly in the teachers colleges and vocational schools, there is rarely a solid foundation of general sociological principles which would work actively toward community understanding and planning. Students of these institutions ultimately become a part of their home town without having had guided understanding

of communities and their functioning. True, there is growing interest in social and economic planning and even use of the community as an educational device, but most attempts are spotty and not professionally executed. (This pre-war analysis does not take into consideration the recent sudden changes which only aggravated social disorganization.) The combination of these efforts in a central agency would seem therefore to be necessary and fruitful.

B. Ideally the Sociological Laboratory, as we have chosen to call such a central agency, would be located in a regional trade center with at least one college or university. There the necessary personnel and the basic material for its erection and continuation can be most easily found and assembled. This sociological laboratory proposes to work within a geographical unit limited not by political or administrative boundaries but rather determined by two factors: (a) the degree of urbanization inherent in it, and (b) a cultural standard index composed of combined living and cultural indices.¹

Here are three answers to the most outstanding needs. (1) While the laboratory is essentially not a research institute, each region should have a garrison of specialists continuously collecting information on simple social facts from all possible sources. They will analyze them in short and efficient form and without complicated statistical devices; then send them wherever requested inside of the region and also to a central point for comparison with the findings of other laboratories. In the region the material for checklists is collected and there must be of course, a consensus of competence and consequent standardization of these lists. The Asheville laboratory for instance has prepared such a basic list leading to county description, compiled from items used by Blair, Chapin, Lively, Colcord, Almack, Swiger and Taeuber with additions by the writer. A standard county de-

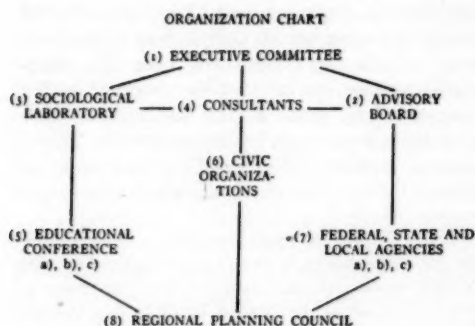
¹ This is not the place to enter a discussion of the problems, methods and aims of regionalism. Dr. Odum's work and the work of the University of North Carolina as well, as the Institute for Research in Social Sciences there, need no extensive quotations. Suffice it to say here, that while the writer's concept of regionalism, being international, is essentially the same in theory, it appears to be not altogether the same *in praxi*. He thinks that for every single region the erection of a sociological laboratory would be necessary whether this region comprises three counties or three hundred. Consequently a parallelism between state and regional administration would be quite improbable.

Study of Junior Colleges of Western North Carolina. The study was to determine the socio-economic needs of the communities and to arrange their curricula accordingly. In order to achieve results however, the high schools and senior colleges were asked to co-operate, and as a necessary step in co-ordination the *Asheville Sociological Laboratory* was founded and directed by the writer. The study was sponsored by the General Education Board, administered by a regional committee, headed by Dr. Frank C. Foster, and co-ordinated by the author.

The report written in the fall of 1942 is not intended for publication in its entirety. Parts of it, however, will appear in the journals of the respective fields. The author at present is connected with the City Health Department of Baltimore, Maryland, and interested colleagues may obtain information by communicating with him.

scription will sooner or later be agreed upon by all social scientists, at least in the U.S., to be used uniformly thereafter in testing the character of different regions. The laboratory also had in its files all pertinent current items from Federal, State and local sources, also through special inquiry unpublished material on single questions of regional interest, like: divorce-rate, tax-distribution, voting results, telephone calls, and others. The material was grouped according to natural and human resources and indexed analytically in the card file, making much useful information quickly available to local social workers, churches and various institutions, many of which used it immediately.

(2) The laboratory by its mere existence opens channels for co-operative planning among educational institutions, their faculties and student bodies on one hand, and social agencies on the other. But also it can use the whole educational system of the region in promoting social and economic planning. Said Dr. R. E. McArdle, chairman of the post-war planning committee of the Department of Agriculture for five Appalachian States: "... I was not aware how few devices exist to bring about interchange of ideas ... nor how the lack of basic information would hamstring the efforts of individual institutions in evaluating regional needs. ... I will be glad to assist in any way possible its [the Sociological Laboratory's] establishment." (Which he did.) There follows an organization chart practicable for any Sociological laboratory.



- (1) Executive Committee, consisting of one representative each of the high schools, the junior colleges, the senior colleges, and the federal, state, and local agencies of the region; and a Chairman.
- (2) Advisory Board, consisting of educators and sociologists familiar with the problems of the region and the state of education in it.

- (3) The Sociological Laboratory.
- (4) Consultants, consisting of the Chairman of the Executive Committee, the Chairman of the Advisory Committee, and the Director of the Sociological Laboratory ex-officio, and such persons as are deemed necessary for the performance of special tasks.
- (5) Educational Conference, consisting of
 - a) Conference of administrative officers of the educational institutions of the region.
 - b) Teacher Committees of specialists.
 - c) Representatives of the student body.
- (6) Civic Organizations, as, for instance, Chambers of Commerce, Mental Hygiene Society.
- (7) Federal, state, or local agencies, as for instance,
 - a) The Federal Employment Service
 - b) The State College Conference
 - c) The Local Community Welfare Council
- (8) A Regional Planning Council, which will request information on specific topics in order to improve certain aspects of social life.

(3) Social Science teachers are at great disadvantage in many regions. They often have not adequate training in their subject and little or no practical experience outside the classroom. Although they may be eager to keep abreast of the times in their field, they have neither leisure nor access to the great quantities of current literature in education and in the social sciences. The laboratory can supply them with excerpted material or study units either of its own compilation or deposited with it. The Greenville, South Carolina, county library, for example, working under auspices of the Southern Sociological Society, commission on teaching, committee for diffusion of materials in the social sciences, proposed to use the Asheville Sociological Laboratory as a Materials Bureau.

Staff members of the laboratory may themselves give courses open to everybody from schools and communities and thus encourage graduates to keep in touch with it and train others, if in nothing else, simply in the observation of social facts. For one of the basic principles of the laboratory idea is the assumption that the people of the region *are* the field force, since we recognize that the more homogenous a region is, the less willing will the population heed and accept authoritative suggestions from the outside. But the younger generation returning as teachers and ministers to their communities will be more easily able to influence the homefolk. Students working with the laboratory will be spurred to subsequent community-conscious living and will bring forward the healing of social evils through social knowledge. Associations working already along these lines, like

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the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers through its Commission on Teaching and the Social Science Teachers Association of the region, as well as many others, have participated actively and vigorously in the establishment and use of the laboratory.

C. The Sociological Laboratory must be kept apart from political or monetary pressure in order to fulfill its task, unlimited by boundaries of subject-matter and able to reach comprehensively the whole of a region's natural and human resources. Therefore only disinterested foundations or independent universities will be successful in establishing such *nuclei* of sociological thought and action. That would be only the logical development from the rich research work they are now conducting and supporting; at the same time it would give them the satisfaction of effecting the fruition of their elaborate planning.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON MEMBERS IN THE ARMED FORCES

BERNARD W. AGINSKY, 8 W. 13th Street, New York City, is in the armed forces.

WILBUR BROOKOVER of Indiana State Teachers College has accepted a commission in the U. S. Naval Reserve as Lieutenant (j.g.). He is attending the Naval Training School, Fort Schuyler, The Bronx, New York, for indoctrination, following which he will be stationed in Washington, D.C. for a short period.

PAUL B. FOREMAN of the University of Mississippi is an Army Lieutenant (address: ASTP: STAR 3701, Laramie, Wyoming).

LUDWIG F. FREUND, Ripon College, Ripon, Wisconsin, writes: "I was inducted into the U. S. Army on October 22, 1942, served in the Cavalry at Fort Riley, Kansas, later at Fort Sheridan, Illinois; and was honorably discharged on April 1, 1943 because of the new age regulations of the War Department."

JULIUS A. JAHN, 793½ Charles Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota, is in the U. S. Army.

HERMAN J. KLOEFFER of Knoxville College has just been released from military service, having served since December 8, 1942.

JOHN B. KNOX, formerly of Alabama College is a Lieutenant at the Naval Ammunition Depot, Mare Island, California.

HENRY M. MULLER, Haines Avenue, Berlin, New Jersey, is now in the U. S. Navy.

Miss ELEANOR SMITH, formerly with the Social Security Board in Charleston, West Virginia, is now Personnel Counselor for the U. S. Army Signal Corps Depot, 1903 West Pershing Road, Chicago, Illinois.

JOHN USEEM is now a Lieutenant in the U.S.N.R. He was commissioned as an officer in Military Government and is now attached to the

Columbia University School of Military Government in preparation for the task of administering occupied countries.

S. KIRSON WEINBERG, 5245 Ingleside Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is in the U. S. Army.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

The *District of Columbia chapter of the American Sociological Society* elected the following officers at the annual business meeting on May 25, 1943 for the fiscal year beginning with that date: President, E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University; First Vice-President, Elbridge Sibley, Bureau of Budget, Executive Office of the President; Secretary-Treasurer, Edward P. Hutchinson, 2032 Belmont Road N.W., Washington, D.C. Meetings will not be held until fall. The executive committee will meet probably some time in September to decide upon the program of the coming year.

The May number of the *Ohio Valley Sociologist* is partly devoted to a discussion of "satisfactory or rational grounds for hopes" for a durable peace, "especially the grounds that properly belong to the hopes of careful investigators of social matters." Several members of the *Ohio Valley Sociological Society* have contributed interesting ideas.

The Proceedings of the *Pacific Sociological Society*, 1942, have been published as Vol. XI, No. 1 of the *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, under the editorship of Carl F. Reuss. The published contributions are as follows: I. IMPACT OF WAR: "The Social Functions of War," Elon H. Moore; "The Impact of War on Population," Constantine Panunzio; "Factors Conditioning Productivity and Morale of Wartime Shipyard Workers," Joseph Cohen; "Familial Problems and the Japanese Removal," Leonard Bloom. II. SOCIETAL INTEGRATION: "A Study of the Social Unadjustment Problems of a Selected Group of Junior College Girls," Pearl E. Clark; "The Integration of Foreign Groups," Marianne W. Beth; "The Role of News in the Creation of a Post-War World Community," Carl F. Reuss. III. POPULATION TRENDS: "Divorce in Oregon," William C. Smith; "The Changing Age Structure in the Population of Cities," Frederick A. Conrad. IV. METHODS IN SOCIAL RESEARCH: "Intensive Non-Directive Interviewing as a Method in Social Research," Joel V. Berreman; "Experimental Criminology," C. W. Topping.

A *Sub-Regional Sociology Meeting* was held at *Vanderbilt University*, Nashville, Tennessee, on May 21, 1943. The topics discussed were as follows: The Effect of the War on Public School Education, by Dr. John E. Brewton of George Peabody College for Teachers, reporting on his first hand field observation and study of what is happening to public school education in the South. Change Through Community Process: Ravenscroft, a Stranded Mining Community in the Cumberland Plateau, C. L. Cunningham; The Status of

Change in Other Plateau Communities, Edwin E. White; Changing Rural Communities in the Tennessee Valley Watershed Area, W. M. Landress or R. C. McDade. The Changing Pattern of Medical Care: Program of the F.S.A. in Tennessee, C. O. Ramer; Public Assistance Programs in Tennessee, Paul Savage; The Tuberculosis Control Problem in the Negro Group, Dr. W. A. Beck. The speakers were persons "on the job," presenting their problems or programs in workshop fashion.

U. S. Department of Agriculture. A 14-page mimeographed bulletin from the Department's Office of Information dated July 2, 1943 presents a most useful and up-to-date description of the "Structure, Functions, and Origins of the Department of Agriculture and its Constituent Agencies." Another bulletin of July 27, 1943 presents an "Abridged Chronology of Agriculture's Part in the War" from May 1940 to June 25, 1943. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics published in 1942 *A Place on Earth, A Critical Appraisal of Subsistence Homesteads* (edited by Russell Lord and Paul H. Johnstone). This 202-page document describes several subsistence homestead projects in detail, presents the main facts of the "back-to-the-land" movement and its background, and summarizes "what has been learned from subsistence homesteads."

Mr. T. Swann Harding, Senior Information Specialist of the Department of Agriculture, plays the role of supplying valuable technical information within the wide scope of the work of the Department to the press and interested citizens.

The **American Council on Education's** Commission on Teacher Education has a new pamphlet to offer to educators under the title, *Toward Community Understanding* (viii + 98 pp., paper bound, seventy-five cents). It was written by Gordon W. Blackwell, a sociologist with special interests in community organization and the education of teachers, while on leave of absence from his duties as research associate in the Institute for Research in Social Science, directed by Howard W. Odum at the University of North Carolina. Dr. Blackwell presents in some detail examples of courses, types of off-campus experience (i.e., field trips, fact finding, and volunteer service), social-action clubs for students, college-wide programs tending toward social action, student government, group living, work experiences, use of the arts, etc. He describes two co-operative programs each developed by a college and a local community.

The study is based on visits to the following institutions: Albion College, Bennington College, Central Michigan College of Education, Chicago Teachers College, College of St. Catherine (Minnesota), Cooperative School for Teachers (New York), Furman University, Goddard College (Vermont), Louisiana Negro Normal and Industrial Institute, Mississippi Negro Training School (Jack-

son College), Ohio State University, State Teachers College (Florence, Alabama), State Teachers College (Mayville, North Dakota), State Teachers College (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Tuskegee Institute and Wayne University.

The **Inter-American Statistical Institute** has launched a new publication, *Estadística*, a quarterly professional journal published in Mexico City under the direction of Dr. Juan De D. Bojorquez. Vol. I, No. 1 (March 1943) contains a useful article by Stuart A. Rice, "United States Statistics in War-time," in which 12 important changes in our statistical activities during 1941 and 1942 are reviewed. Rice comments on the statistical-mindedness of America and the growing demand for "cut-off points" and statistical temperance.

The **Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc.** has published *The Case Worker and Family Planning*, a 43-page pamphlet written especially for social case workers. The work is symbolic of the gradual integration of the planned parenthood movement into the more traditional health and welfare activities of the country. The material is presented partly in question and answer form and is very concrete and to the point.

Hofstra College (Hempstead, L.I., N.Y.) gave a program of special lectures during June on the "Problems of Central and Eastern Europe," with the cooperation of the Central and Eastern European Planning Board. The series was in charge of Professor Joseph S. Roucek, Chairman of the Department of Political Science and Sociology, and Dr. Dragan Plamenac. Dr. Roucek also gave a series of special lectures on minority problems at the Inter-American Workshop, *New Mexico Highlands University*, Las Vegas, during July.

Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters. At the forty-eighth annual meeting of the academy, A. E. Wood of the University of Michigan was chairman of the Section of Sociology, and Norman Humphrey of Wayne University served as secretary. Other participants in the program were: R. L. Jenkins, Michigan Child Guidance Institute, "Personality Structure and Child Guidance"; Leslie A. White, University of Michigan, "Sociology and Mathematics," with William Fuson, University of Michigan, discussant; Alfred McClung Lee, Wayne University, "Is Sociological Methodology Sterile?"; C. R. Hoffer, Michigan State College, "The Community Basis of Peace"; Jack B. Burke, Field Representative, President's Committee on Fair Labor Practices, Detroit, "Employment Practices and Minority Groups"; Horace White, Housing Commissioner, Detroit, "The Negro and the War"; Claude Williams, Institute of Applied Religion and Detroit Presbytery, "Manipulation of Anti-Minority Sentiments"; Norman F. Kinzie, Detroit Council of Churches and Wayne University, "Japanese Relocation in Michigan"; and

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Ernest E. Neal, University of Michigan, "The Negro and the Community." The Sociology meetings were held March 26 in the Rackham Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Michigan State College. Beginning July 15 some 300 men in the Army Specialized Training Program were assigned to the college for 36 weeks of intensive Area and Language instruction. Together with the Air Corps trainees and engineers, this makes a total of over 3,000. The department of Sociology is assisting in Area study and is furnishing instruction for 4 of 6 classes. Prof. Clayton Watts who has been absent on leave since the close of the winter term, as a social economist with the war board in Detroit, was released to teach two of the classes in the program. Dr. Paul Honigsheim is responsible for the other two classes, and Dr. Banzet is teaching history to the Army engineers. These three men are now devoting full time to the Army instruction program.

In addition, the department is offering work in both the traditional six weeks summer school and in the new full summer session. To meet the demands of the war situation and various needs in the field of Sociology, it is expected that the undergraduate social work courses will be offered next July while the one in graduate school will be abandoned for the duration.

The New York Society for Psychodrama and Group Therapy, at the Psychodramatic Institute, 101 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., has elected the following officers: J. L. Moreno, M.D., President, Frederic Feichtinger, M.D., Secretary.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. Robert Turner McMillan (B.S., M.S., Oklahoma A & M. College), Associate Professor of Sociology and Rural Life, received the Ph.D. degree from Louisiana State University in June 1943. The title of his thesis, which was completed last summer, is "The Interrelation of Migration and Socioeconomic Status of Open Country Families in Oklahoma." William Lester Kolb (A.B., Miami, M.A., Wisconsin), Assistant Professor of Sociology, received the Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin at the end of May 1943. The title of his thesis, which was completed in April, is "The Peasant in Revolution: A Study in Constructive Typology." John C. Belcher, B.S., Oklahoma A. & M. College, 1943, has been appointed graduate assistant in Rural Sociology at Louisiana State University, effective July 1, 1943.

University of Washington. Dr. Jesse F. Steiner has been appointed as a public member of the Pacific Northwest Regional W.L.B. Leaves of absence have been granted to Dr. Joseph Cohen and Dr. Elton Guthrie. Dr. Cohen is on the staff of the regional office of the U.S.H.A. and Dr. Guthrie is with the regional office of the O.W.I. Mr. Robert W. O'Brien,

instructor in sociology, and assistant to the Dean, has returned to the University after six months' leave with the W.R.A.

Mrs. Laile Eubank Bartlett, associate in sociology, has been chosen director of the Seattle Students-in-Industry Project sponsored by the National Student Council of the Y.W.C.A. Seattle represents one of the twelve centers chosen for these projects, the purpose of which is to combine an academic program with full-time work in a local industry or in agriculture during the summer months.

Wayne University. Norman D. Humphrey, Instructor in Anthropology at Wayne, received his Ph.D. in Sociology in June from the University of Michigan. His dissertation deals with Mexican immigrants in various American urban centers and with their background in Mexico. Dr. Humphrey also received his M.A. and his M.S.W. from the University of Michigan.

Thelma James, H. Warren Dunham, Norman D. Humphrey, and Alfred McClung Lee have launched a project to prepare an "ethnic map" of the City of Detroit and pertinent environs. In their work they have the co-operation of the Detroit Bureau of Government Research, through Rose Mohaupt, and of the Metropolitan Detroit Council of Social Agencies, through Florence Cassidy.

The 1943 summer faculty at Wayne University includes H. Warren Dunham, Maude Fiero, Donald C. Marsh, Frank E. Hartung, Norman F. Kinzie, Norman D. Humphrey, and Alex Linn Trout. Fritz Redl, Associate Professor of Social Work, will teach and conduct research in the Workshop on Later Childhood and Early Adolescence at a Fresh Air Camp sponsored jointly by the University of Michigan, Wayne University, and other interested organizations.

Alfred McClung Lee, Chairman of the Wayne Department of Sociology, is conducting research for the U. S. Department of Justice in its case against the Associated Press as a monopoly in restraint of trade and in violation of press freedom.

Dr. Edward C. Jandy, Associate Professor of Sociology, is serving as moderator of a series of programs on post-war planning each Saturday night from 7 to 7:30 P.M. over radio station WWJ, Detroit. The discussants on his program are local and national leaders in a wide range of fields.

Wheaton College has appointed as Assistant Professor of Sociology Dr. Margaret I. Conway. Miss Conway is a Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota (in 1939) and since then has been teaching at Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

Word has recently reached us that Edward L. Lindsey, National Bank Building, Warren, Pennsylvania, is deceased. Mr. Lindsey had been a member of the Society since 1910.

Louis J. Hopkins, 1385 Hillcrest Avenue, Pasadena, California, died on November 5, 1942.

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A Study of War. (Two Volumes.) By QUINCY WRIGHT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xxiii + 1552. \$15.00.

In *A Study of War* a famous student of international affairs reports on a study which he has carried on since 1926. The study was a large-scale, co-operative project in which much oil and work were consumed; twenty-five research assistants were employed for periods of a year or more, and sixty-six manuscripts were prepared in the course of the inquiry. Wright has attempted to distill the essence of all these researches in the volumes under review.

The study was an attack upon the problem of war in general, all wars in all times and places. When one attempts to study all war, and from all points of view, he has an almost impossibly large task. One cannot begrudge the author the 1552 closely written pages which he consumes, nor can one quarrel overmuch with the highly abstract—almost schematic—mode of presentation which the nature of the subject necessitates. Some idea of the scope of the study may be gained from that fact that upwards of four thousand names are cited in the index of names. There are forty-four highly compact appendices to which a large amount of space is devoted.

A Study of War has not a great deal of inner coherence. The plan of organization of the work is to show the relativity of war to (a) history, (b) the point of view, and (c) to social and political controls. The historical task is brilliantly accomplished by a series of essays in Volume I. These deal with such subjects as: Origin of War; Animal Warfare; Primitive Warfare; Character of Modern Civilization; Fluctuations in the Intensity of Modern Warfare; Techniques of Modern Warfare; and Changes in War through History. The section showing the relativity of war to the point of view also contains several valuable essays, such as those on population changes and the utilization of resources, in which the author displays his talent for precise definition, rigorous logic, and bold, unconventional generalization. The

last section of the book, devoted to the control of war, is weak.

The book has many merits, of which its originality seems to the reviewer to take first place. Wright does not think in stereotypes, and possesses the power to perceive facts in novel configurations. He deals with such dogmatisms as that of economic determinism in admirable fashion, not by polemics, but by attacking his problems afresh, as if these dogmatisms did not exist.

It is beyond question that the author knows a great deal about war, but one wonders just how much of his knowledge he has managed to put into his book. To be sure, he faced some extremely difficult problems of communication. He wished to make it clear that he has studied war in a scientific manner—and of this there can be no doubt—but he seems to the reviewer to have devoted too much space to logic and methodology and too little to a straightforward attack upon his subject. He faced another difficulty in that he wished to draw upon all the social sciences, and had to work out an integration of their separate and somewhat inconsistent jargons. The extent of the study presented a further problem.

For these reasons, Wright has had to pitch his presentation upon a very abstract level, and he has been able to present a relatively small proportion of concrete or factual material. The fact that he has mentioned four thousand names shows that he has covered a vast literature, but many of these names are merely mentioned under supposedly appropriate classificatory tags. In making his choice of materials on war, he seems to have shown an academic bias in overvaluing studies that are called studies and in underestimating those that are not called studies. Erich Maria Remarque is not mentioned in the index. Tolstoi is referred to three times, Barbusse once, but these are the slightest possible mentions. Hemingway and Dos Passos are not mentioned. As a result of such omissions a great deal that is known about human nature and war is not in the book. Various attempts at

quantitative statement receive, by contrast, relatively more attention than their intrinsic merits seem to justify.

Another kind of omission is that of the impact of war upon social institutions. Institutional adjustments in anticipation of war are dealt with, but there is little on what the actual process of waging war does to institutions. Chambers, a historian, has done a splendid study of the home front in various European countries during World War I. Wright does not mention it. There is nothing on the characteristics of post-war periods, and the terms, post-war, reconstruction, rehabilitation, veterans, social disorganization, etc., are not listed in the index.

The book is adequately indexed. Citations are so complete that even literary allusions are noted and explained. There are numerous grammatical errors.

WILLARD WALLER

Columbia University

In Peace Japan Breeds War. By GUSTAV ECKSTEIN. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943. Pp. 326. \$2.50.

A by-product of our war with Japan is a flood of books which now makes easily accessible to American readers the knowledge of the Japanese which we should have possessed long before Pearl Harbor. For the first time the American public has become intensely interested in the peoples of the Far East and is making belated effort to understand our Japanese enemies as well as they understand us. This volume by Dr. Eckstein, a physiologist on the faculty of the University of Cincinnati, brings together in a series of brief essays his observations and impressions of Japanese traits, attitudes, and philosophy of life. During several visits to Japan since 1924, the author travelled widely, especially in southern Japan, and was a frequent guest in Japanese homes. His lack of knowledge of the Japanese language was at least partially offset by his close association with English- and German-speaking physicians and scientists who talked to him frankly and helped him to gain insight into Japanese character.

The fifty brief chapters range over a wide field and include his personal experiences and contacts with the Japanese, brief descriptions of historical events, thumbnail sketches of well known leaders, and interesting comments on such topics as religion, harakiri, assassination, geisha, language, recreation, and family life.

Throughout the essays are found illuminating observations that reveal the long cherished purpose of the Japanese to fight against America and their careful preparation for war during the years of peace.

The distinguishing features of the book are its simple, attractive style and its incisive comments on Japanese traits and ways of thinking. In recording his impressions of Japanese cruelty in warfare, he says: "I never think the atrocity lack of army discipline. I think it performed by command, and publicized—to put crippling fear into our hearts. . . . I would think the Japanese would boycott, choke, break bones, slaughter, when they did these acts, by plan. Not because they took joy in the acts, were cruel in that sense, but the Japanese would certainly like to make Asia unpleasant to us forever, and would not overlook the psychologic ways of doing it." In his discussion of the possibility of winning the war through wholesale destruction of civilians which would probably result from bombing their highly inflammable cities, he urges that such a course should not be adopted unless forced to do so by direct extremity. "We ought not," he says, "by the methods of the war to handicap for long years to come belief in the possibility of true peace. . . . If we hope to win the Japanese to a peaceful way of living in the world—and so give a peaceful life to our descendants—we had better not put a Sherman's march bloodily into the children's primers. . . . We must remember, whether we like to or not, the difficult psychologic problem we are bound to have with an Asiatic nation that is strong, and would be strong again a generation after defeat."

Dr. Eckstein's volume makes no pretense of being a systematic study of the Japanese, but it is a real contribution to our understanding of the strength and weakness of their character.

JESSE F. STEINER

University of Washington

Conflicts. By L. B. NAMIER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. Pp. 222. \$2.50.

This book is a collection of eighteen essays written by a professor of modern history at the University of Manchester. With one exception, they were prepared and printed in magazines or journals after the outbreak of World War II. In this volume these essays are brought together with a minimum of change. Subjects which form the central theme of the various articles are: a brief history of Europe, 1815-1919, the Versailles settlement, the meaning and evolu-

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tion of democracy, Germany and the background of the Nazi movement, and problems of Jews. The essays were written in a popular style; hence there are very few references and footnotes of an explanatory nature. Nevertheless the various subjects are treated in an erudite and objective manner, so they are valuable summaries of the topics discussed.

Sociologists will not be especially interested in the historical passages contained in this book, for although comprehensive in nature, they tend to lack sociological orientation. Exceptions to this statement do occur, however, as, for example, on page 27, when the author explains that the "League of Nations was especially an Anglo-Saxon idea; it was the continuation in the sphere of international politics of the faith, facile optimism, and comfortable illusion of the mid-nineteenth century 'utilitarian' believers in democracy." The discussion of Germany and the Nazi movement under the leadership of Hitler contains an excellent analysis of the psycho-social factors producing the national character of the people in modern Germany. Here reliance on superlative power in and through the state, capacity for group integration, love of uniformity, and sense of duty are emphasized.

The author, who himself is a Jew, discusses the Jewish question with vigor and thoroughness but not in a passionate manner. Here all the predicaments which the culture of the western world has created for the Jew are reviewed. Even assimilation, according to his interpretation, has its perplexities, for the desire to be assimilated may be interpreted as a confession of inferiority.

The book may well serve as a stimulus to social scientists in the United States to put forth more thought and effort on the interpretation of contemporary social issues to the public.

CHARLES R. HOFFER

Michigan State College

The Silent War: The Underground Movement in Germany. By JOHN B. JANSEN and STEFAN WEYL. With a Foreword by Reinhold Niebuhr. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1943. Pp. 366. \$2.75.

The silent war is waged by the small nuclei of German underground workers. This is the first serious book-length treatment of their organizational, psychological, and tactical experiences. The book supersedes Evelyn Lent's pamphlet "The Underground Struggle in Ger-

many" which appeared after the terror wave in 1935. It is must reading for all who are concerned about the twilight of the "transitional period," it is must reading for political scientists, sociologists and social psychologists of revolutionary movements, and for social theoreticians who reflect on the questions Georg Simmel raised in his essay on "Secrecy and Secret Societies." Last and not least, it is an informative book for prospective occupation officers.

The "New Beginning" group emancipated themselves from the wreckage of both the Social Democratic and Communist parties; they struck the theoretical balance of the secular defeat of European labor; they began anew and have kept going ever since, inside Germany and in exile.

The one-party state in a densely populated, fully industrialized, and intensely administered and bureaucratized country posits entirely new problems for continuous and systematic underground work. The experiences of old socialists under Bismarck, or of revolutionists under Czarism, seem romantic and idyllic by comparison. They provide no guide but rather fallacious notions which have to be paid for in blood. The same holds with modifications for the German Communist Party experience in 1923. The CP remnants, besides, were especially handicapped by the traditional stupidity of the apparatus who would not admit as late as 1934 that Central European labor had been severely defeated, not to mention the shattering blows to morale under the Stalin-Ribbentrop pact and senseless directives from afar. Arthur Koestler's case of "Richard" in *Darkness at Noon* is to the point.

Underground work relies on small numbers and only the officers of future armies can "take it." And they die young. That holds for all warfare. The average member inside Germany is stated to last five years. That the work of these necessarily anonymous fighters is felt, is evident from the record as presented. It is soberly stated and factual, and avoids all flamboyant language and sensational dressing. It is the antidote against romantic filmlore, against Vansittartism and senseless accusations of German labor resulting from unavoidable ignorance and disillusionment on the part of those who sit safely on the bleachers. The option for "lesser evils" in the face of Hitler has not been the mistake of German democracy alone.

The report shows what skills and personality traits are selected and have to be acquired by the organized member engaged in fighting the

enormous weight of the Gestapo and its technical implementation with teletypewriters, telephone and cable service, trucks for discreet night raids on whole city districts, and all the paraphernalia of repression and death. There is as yet no psychologically homogeneous anti-Nazi class, section, or institution in Germany where the endangered underground worker could "disappear," and where he could offhand expect to be sheltered from the police. As a matter of fact, the underground worker does not make even an attempt at "disappearing." He lives a double life. He looks quite ordinary, has his job, his family, and is eager to appear like any other Schmidt or Schultze. He makes his living in Nazi society and yet he is not of it. Camouflage has to become second nature, and under totalitarian control, screening, too, becomes total.

The authors describe from the inside the maintenance of a network of local organizations, the circulation of underground literature, whisper campaigns, organized industrial sabotage ranging from shop grumblings, sleepers' strike, and absenteeism to industrial and railroad "accidents" which the Nazi Press has to announce as Acts of God. The effectiveness of ascending labor pressure within Germany is evidenced in the rising death toll of the terror machinery as published in this book and in other refugee publications like "Austrian Labor Information." Even Hitler himself saw fit in his last speech to hold out to the German people, not merely "people's car" and "strength through joy" and imperialist victories, but, for the first time, he held out the socialist promise of "the abolition of all classes." The abolished middle classes will think of it. The promise is Hitler's death warrant. Hitler added "in due course." So be it!

H. H. GERTH

University of Wisconsin

The Twilight of Capitalism and the War. By WALTER JOHN MARX. St. Louis and London: B. Herder Book Co., 1942. Pp. vii + 316. \$2.25.

This book is a semi-popular analysis of the shortcomings of capitalism, of the causes of the modern breakdown in the social and economic order and of the possible trends in the future. The standpoint of the author is sociological rather than purely economic. The analysis is carried out, if not originally, at least thoughtfully and competently. The author rightly stresses that the shortcomings of capitalism are

not something incidental and external to it, but inherent in its nature. Therefore, its breakdown is due not to a historical accident but has been generated by the forces of capitalism itself. In this way the author happily synthesizes the Marxian standpoint with that of the Papal encyclicals.

As to the way out of the present crisis, the author is semi-hopeful: if a profound religious revival occurs; if with it the family is re-integrated; if a deep ethical renaissance takes place; then a democratic re-organization of society along the lines of an ethical guild-socialism is possible. Otherwise, a form of totalitarianism is hardly avoidable.

One may disagree with some of the views of the author, but this does not hinder the book from constituting stimulating and thought-provoking reading for a large circle of intelligent readers.

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN

Harvard University

The Menace of the Herd, or Procrustes at Large. By FRANCIS STUART CAMPBELL. Milwaukee, Wis.: Bruce Publishing Company, 1943. Pp. xi + 398. \$4.00.

The main thesis of this book, "that the great problems of our existence are of a moral, and not of a technical or medical nature," is essentially sound. It is therefore the more regrettable that the author has not given us a critically competent philosophical discussion of ethical and social values. In the field of art he recognizes that "pagan modernity" can only be effectively challenged by a "living alternative," but in the field of politics he has nothing more to offer than a return to medieval values, and the re-institution of forms congenial to the medieval Church. Any social and political system, to be acceptable to him, must agree "with the *parfum* of the Church which is monarchical, patriarchal, and 'aristocratic' (*in the qualitative sense*)."

Our author's method consists of a romantic idealization of the virtues of medievalism, and an equally distorted scandalmongering concerning the evils of contemporary life, which is a "decline from the heights of the Middle Ages." Thus, to the "ideal monarchy," ruled over by "a true and manly liberal" between whom and his subjects there exists a "mutual affection . . . similar to that between parents and children" there is juxtaposed a conception of democracy as "the momentary whim of mere majorities" which expresses itself most logically in the lynching mob. Any attempt to safeguard the

civil rights of the person (which, incidentally, the author believes to be derived etymologically from *per se*!) by constitutional means or by considerations of common decency is a repudiation of "monarchical and aristocratic" (and therefore presumably medieval) elements. On the other hand, the very evils of medievalism are rationalized into virtues in disguise. The ghetto was a humane and liberal institution because the Jew enjoyed a "far-reaching autonomy" within it; the serf bound to the land was as free as the modern urban worker because the latter pays rent to a landlord; even slavery "was not important enough in the light of a life eternal to be combated with furious indignation," which the author reserves exclusively for modern evils.

The intellectual and moral dilemmas of modern democracy are in all conscience serious enough, and there is perhaps no other refuge than a flight into medievalism for an author who sees no solution to them but a system of multiple voting which would "give to certain persons *additional* votes for *each* 'merit' or 'competence.'" Perhaps there might be some qualitative improvements in the electoral system if an additional vote were given for the possession of the A.B. or B.S. degree, and a second vote for M.A. or any doctor's degree, as the author proposes, but if American universities are as inferior as he maintains, this would appear to be more than doubtful. But it is difficult for this reviewer to see what additional voting competence a person acquires by merely "being 50 years of age or over," having seen "active military service abroad," having suffered "invalidity as a result of such service," "being widowed by a war," being the "head of a family of four children or over," or being ordained to the "priesthood, ministership, etc." (The latter is surely a slip; since Protestantism is error, and error can only be "tolerated, not accepted," would not the acknowledgment of any special "competence" or "merit" in the Protestant minister be a recognition of error?) "Under these circumstances, a physician aged fifty, who served in the war and is providing for four children, would have the power to poll six times." But in the light of the convictions known to be dominant in precisely these categories of voters, under this system the political fate of Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom our author prefers as an "aristocratic" type of leader over the more "democratic or ochlocratic" Willkie, would be fearful to contemplate!

These three-hundred-odd pages of intellectual muddle, logical contradiction, historical distortion, and sheer misrepresentation of contemporary fact defy summarization and detailed criticism in the brief space available here. Suffice it to say that it is the author's passionate reaction to the view prevailing among non-Catholics that the Church looks with greater favor upon Fascist than upon democratic forms of government, provided only that the former will come to terms with the Church. This the author denounces as "illusion . . . based on the usual ignorance concerning Catholicism as well as Fascism." But it is an illusion that will only be further confirmed by an author who quotes with approval the words of Pius XI: "In order to save the souls of our children We would not hesitate to negotiate with the devil in person," and who then proceeds to parallel the failure of the Stuarts, the Carlist pretenders, the Habsburgs, and the Bourbons in France with the failure of Christ and the Cross, to predict that "they may be ultimately victorious" in the same sense, to approve of every Fascist, quasi-Fascist, and proto-Fascist dictator in Europe, from Franco to Salazar, who has accepted the terms of the Church, to find in Portugal the exemplar of Catholic government in Europe, to insist that in the reconstruction of post-War Europe the Holy Roman Empire, "or something similar to it must be revived," and to advocate "a new League of Nations [which] should be a regular congress of the Christian [presumably Catholic, since to admit Protestants and others would be to accept error and untruth] monarchs and heads of nations in a place of great and ancient Christian tradition." In spite of his protestations of innocence of Fascist tendencies, where can one find a better statement of the Fascist conception of the structure and function of parliaments than in our author's words, "The opinionating, corporative parliament which represents naked *interests* and not parties can protest the cast and proposals of the legislative-administrative officialdom; dependent upon the nature of the protested object, it is either the supreme court of the monarch with his crown council (the government) that are going to act as arbiters and to decide to what extent public opinion or group interests should be taken into consideration or overruled." And in spite of our author's reiterations that Nazi Germany is a "synthesis of the ideas of the French Revolution," "a super-democracy" based on the most extreme form of majority rule, where can one find in contem-

porary literature a better parallel to his contempt for majority rule and for the political competence of "the people . . . the laymen, the masses of innocent ignorants," than Hitler's words in *Mein Kampf*: "... experience shows that in every form and under all suppositions the majority will be representative of stupidity and cowardice, and that thus any plurality of associations, as soon as it is ruled by a leadership of several heads of its own choice, is surrendered to cowardice and weakness. Also, by such a combination the free play of energies is tied up, the struggle for choosing the best is stopped, and accordingly the final victory of the healthier and stronger man is prevented forever."

If the author is correct in maintaining that "naïveté is a medieval virtue" and that "every maturity is tragic" this volume is one of the most virtuous and least tragic books of the year. It is also one of the most dangerous, for its show of superficial erudition, its sweeping generalizations, and its telling indictment of the more obvious weaknesses of modern democracies render it especially attractive to the half-educated masses which it despises, and constitutes it an entering wedge for Fascism in a most insidious and attractive form.

Duke University

HOWARD E. JENSEN

Religion, Science and Society in the Modern World. By ALEXANDER D. LINDSAY. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943. Pp. vii + 73.

This little book comprises the latest Terry Lectures at Yale University on "Religion in the Light of Science and Philosophy." They are three in number: (1) Religion and Freedom; (2) Science and Freedom; and (3) Power and Freedom. They make up a pleasing and readable discourse, but even a reading of the book leaves the reviewer uncertain as to just what Lindsay wished to say. But, so far as I can make it out, it is essentially the following:

The world is in a bad way as a result of the growth and impact of a socially uncontrolled science, the Industrial Revolution, economic exploitation, and nationalism. It has ended up in intolerance, totalitarianism, war, and brutality. Neither religion, science, nor politics has done its part in guiding mankind out of chaos. We cannot seek refuge in returning to the static religious absolutism of the Middle Ages, nor can science alone solve our problems, as Hobbes and Descartes vainly hoped. In a way, the

social sciences fuse scientific insight and religious faith, and perhaps we may find in them the much needed guide to political and social reconstruction.

To insure freedom, democracy is essential, but a freedom which will make democracy work cannot be purely negative. It must assume responsibility and promote action, thus avoiding both the outgrown *laissez-faire* and the repugnant totalitarianism that has succeeded it in many places. Democracy and freedom both rest on the dictum that the state must be the servant rather than the master of society. Lindsay formulates the task ahead in the following words:

"The great adventure is at an end unless we can re-create the conditions which first made it possible, can heal the divisions in our industrial society, break down the walls of misunderstanding which divide us, and regain that unity of spirit which makes freedom possible."

Unfortunately, there is scarcely a word in the book which gives us any specific suggestions as to how to go about the task of setting the world straight, through science or religion, or both.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Cooperstown, N.Y.

The Fight of the Norwegian Church Against Nazism. By BJARNE HÖYE and TRYGVE M. AGER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. Pp. 180. \$1.75.

The Lutheran Church of Norway has been in existence about four hundred years; it has been closely attached to the state; and it includes more than ninety-five per cent of the population. When the Germans invaded Norway on April 9, 1940, they thought that the reverence felt by many Norwegians for the homeland of their faith and the traditions of their church to leave unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's would facilitate the task of the Nazi regime. But the Norwegian churchmen were too intelligent to be misled by blandishments, too religious to accept the Nazi ideology, and too patriotic to co-operate with the invaders. Consequently, the church of Norway has stood shoulder to shoulder with the labor unions, and organizations of teachers, employers, sportsmen, farmers, and fishermen in defending the independence of Norway. Indeed, the church has given a special religious sanction to the national resistance.

The book under review tells the story of the role played by the church of Norway in this

fight for the preservation of religious, political, and national ideals. At every step the story is substantiated by extracts from original documents, and made graphic with accounts of critical episodes. Especially dramatic was the scene outside the great cathedral at Trondheim on February 1, 1942, when a vast congregation was denied admission to the service conducted by the dean of the Cathedral, the Rev. Mr. Fjellbu. Instead of attempting to force the entrance, the assembled thousands uncovered their heads under lowering, wintry, northern skies and united in singing the great hymn dating from the days when Germany possessed men of spiritual integrity and courage: "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," and ended by singing the Norwegian national anthem: "Yes, We Love This Country." The people dispersed quietly, but the dean who had preached inside the cathedral to those who had entered before the police arrived was dismissed from his post. With the exception of a very small group of traitors, the Norwegian clergy has stood fast against the Nazi despite arrests and persecution; they have taken their stand on the Bible and the confessional literature of their church; and they have denounced in firm language the persecution of the Jews and other brutal and illegal acts perpetrated by the Nazi authorities. The authors have some difficulty with English idioms, and their story could have been told with greater skill; but the saga is heroic as well as moving—one that strengthens faith in mankind and hope for its survival.

PAUL KNAPLUND

University of Wisconsin

Popular Freethought in America, 1825-1850. By A. ALBERT POST. (Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 497.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. 258. \$3.00.

It is no great feat of the imagination to picture the shade of the Reverend Doctor Samuel Johnson, first president of King's College (now Columbia), as sometimes agitated by the vicissitudes through which the institution that he nursed has passed. But perhaps our curiosity as to how that heavily-taxed spirit reacts is piqued by nothing so much as by the publication of a doctoral dissertation done under the direction of one of the newest professors of history in Columbia—Henry Steele Commager. For while Dr. Johnson functioned under a Crown charter which granted equal advantages to "any person of any religious denomination

whatever," it might seem to him a somewhat radical extension of that liberty to issue, with the seal of approval of the university, Post's *Popular Freethought in America, 1825-1850*.

To our scientific, as well as emancipated wits, however, the investigation seems a right worthy one. Early nineteenth century freethinkers indulged in so many and so varied enterprises that Dr. Post's study is cycloramic in its sweep. Indeed, Dr. Post's record of these ventures is so detailed and extensive that his is less a history of the *thought* of American skeptics than an account of their *activities*. After a summary of early American freethought, the author gives us a very comprehensive account of freethought publishing, of the organization and history of infidel societies, of the efforts to propagandize for skepticism, of the abortive attempts at permanent national organization, of the mutual impingement of skeptic and socialistic endeavors, of the diffusion of infidel teachings, and of clerical opposition. A thin, final chapter, "The Creed of the Freethinker," hardly compensates for Post's failure to deal with the actual thought of the freethinkers. Are we able to accept, without more discrete analysis, his apparent conclusion that the freethought of his period is but a continuation of that of the period of Paine and of Priestley? Was the new European scholarship of the Higher Criticism never placed under levy? Conceding that Paine and Voltaire, Hume and Volney were still the authors most recommended to prospective converts, can we believe that Eichhorn, De Wette, and others were unknown to the leading American skeptics, particularly when Post has given us so detailed a record of the invasion of German skeptics in his period? We wonder, too, why the author never really comes to grips with the very obvious fact that clerical accounts of the infidelity and atheism of the frontier are patently exaggerated to swell the contributions to the various home missionary societies.

Nevertheless, the factualism of Post is a very stimulating factualism. One cannot read, for example, his account of the rage provoked in Massachusetts in the 'thirties by the free-enquirers without reflecting how much this must have contributed to the indignation over Emerson's Divinity School Address in 1838. After reading that Dr. Charles Knowlton lectured "on physiology" at the Hall of Science founded in 1829 by Frances Wright, one is moved to speculate whether this lecture might have been on birth control. (For publishing his *Fruits of Philosophy*, which did deal with family limita-

tion, Dr. Knowlton was imprisoned in 1833.) One is even provoked to speculate if the allegedly colloquial expression, "taken for a sleigh ride," did not come from a pun of Russel Canfield's (faithfully recorded by Post) in his legal battle with the Rev. Dr. W. W. Sleigh. These are but three varied illustrations of how the author's assemblage of factual details makes his book most stimulating to the student of American society and culture in the early half of the nineteenth century. If, in reading a book, one is provoked to wish all along the way that the author had made an excursion into this or that, one may read into this irritation a limitation of the author, or one may equally well conclude that the book is genuinely seminal in character. This reviewer chooses to regard *Popular Freethought in America, 1825-1850* as an evocative book.

OSCAR CARGILL

New York University

The American Origin of the Augustana Synod.

By O. FRITIOF ANDER and OSCAR L. NORDSTROM. Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Book Concern, 1942. Pp. 192.

The Latter Day Saints and Their Changing Relationship to the Social Order.

By ROY A. CHEVILLE. Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1942. Pp. 77. \$0.50.

The Expansion of the Anglican Communion.

By JOHN HIGGINS. Louisville: The Cloister Press, 1942. Pp. 248. \$2.00.

Mennonites in Europe. By JOHN HORSCH. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1942. Pp. xv + 425. \$2.00.

These four books have in common only the fact that they deal with religious institutions. In content, in method, in purpose, and in value they differ greatly. *The American Origin of the Augustana Synod* is simply a source book containing articles, communications, and letters printed in various periodicals between 1851 and 1860. These articles describe the setting up of the Augustana Synod as a Scandinavian church group outside of the English-speaking synod, of which its churches were earlier a part.

The Latter Day Saints is the only sociological treatise of the lot. It is published as a paper-covered bulletin in the Church School Leadership Series of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. It is significant for sociologists because it represents a conscious facing of the problems arising out of the evolution of a sect into a denomination from within the sect itself. The title page describes the bulletin as "The Digest of a Research Study,

"The Role of Religious Education in the Accommodation of a Sect'." Sociologists will be concerned to have access to the original research study.

The Expansion of the Anglican Communion is a survey book for popular consumption. It discusses in brief the history and present condition of the Anglican Church in the British Isles and its offshoots in the United States and around the world. Anyone wishing a general over-all view of the development and contemporary life of the Anglican or the Protestant Episcopal Church, as it is known in the United States, will find this volume of value. There is a sketchy bibliography at the end of the book but no footnote references of any kind, so that the book is of little use except for survey purposes.

Mennonites in Europe is Volume I of *Mennonite History*, a project originated as far back as 1911 by the Mennonite General Conference. Dr. Horsch, the author, died in 1941, a year before the book was published. He had completed the preliminary manuscript, but the final editing was done by Edward Yoder of the editorial staff of the Mennonite Publishing House. This is a scholarly volume with careful reference notes and an appended bibliography. The aim of the author has been to set forth the general facts associated with the rise and growth of Anabaptism. Insofar as the reviewer can determine, he has done a thorough and objective piece of work. Some attempt is made to throw the history of the Mennonites against the general social background out of which the movement came. The author is aware of this need if the Mennonites are to be understood. However, since this is a Mennonite history written for Mennonites, that element does not bulk as large as it otherwise might.

All of these books are useful to sociologists of religion in supplying historical data for sociological use. Only one book, *The Latter Day Saints*, has marked relevance for sociologists in general.

ROCKWELL C. SMITH

Garrett Biblical Institute

Shakerism in Kentucky. By MARYWEBB GIBSON. Cynthia, Kentucky: The Hobson Press, 1942. Pp. ix + 141.

In spite of the title something less than half the book is devoted to the subject of the Shaker sect in Kentucky. This is perhaps just as well, for the book is chiefly valuable for its well-documented exposition of Shaker philosophy and

its survey of Shaker community religious practices.

Brief chapters are devoted to the principles and religious tenets of this group and to the daily round of activities bearing testimony to them. The author's interest in these activities in relation to Shaker principles extends to their recipes for canning and preserving foods, their architectural and community plans for building, and to some of the prescribed manufacturing processes observed by craftsmen in their local industries. Each of these is documented with an abundance of primary source materials—direct quotations from correspondence and official statements, excerpts from account books and recipe books of the Shaker community which thrived at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, from about 1810 until 1923, when the last member died. The result is a pleasantly intimate picture of the life of this peculiar people.

Shakerism, after it had been "gathered into gospel order"—i.e., into sex-segregated communities—is, of course, an excellent example of the religious sect in isolation. Its sect ideals represent probably as radical a challenge to the normal life of "the world" as could be found, for Shakers believed in total sex abstinence and regarded the "virgin birth" of Jesus as "the most natural birth in the world, even more natural than that of men born as the result of sexual intercourse," and affirmed that this had been "according to the original plan of reproduction intended by God in the beginning."

Apart from this notion, however, and from the equally unorthodox belief that the founder of the sect in America, Mother Ann Lee, was the female embodiment of the spirit of the Creator just as this spirit had appeared in the male form in Jesus, the Shaker faith in forthright simplicity, directness, and sincerity resting on confidence in the power of the spirit of God, was not unlike that of the early Quakers from whose ranks two of the early Shaker leaders in England had been converted.

Confused in some quarters with the early Quakers whom they resembled in some respects, especially in simplicity of dress and manner of speaking and in emphasis upon personal integrity, the Shakers received their name from the peculiar rhythmic motions which formed a part of their group worship. After sitting for a short while in silence the congregations were described as being moved to tremble "and, at times, were affected with the power of God with a mighty shaking; and were occasionally exercised in singing, shouting, or walking the floor under the

influence of spirited signs, swiftly passing and repassing each other, like clouds agitated by a mighty wind." Outsiders were welcomed at these services and allowed to remain so long as they refrained from expressions of scorn or disrespect. The original name of the sect had been the United Society of Believers in the Second Appearing of Christ but Shakerism was applied and accepted from very nearly the beginning of the movement in the late 1700's.

ALLAN W. EISTER

Friends' Civilian Public Service
Powellville, Maryland

The Family and Democratic Society. By JOSEPH KIRK FOLSOM, with chapters in collaboration with Marion Bassett. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1943. Pp. xiii + 755. \$4.00.

A "sociology major" to whom this book was referred for study and review commented that it gave her little absolutely new but summarized practically every course she had taken in college. This will hint at the comprehensiveness of the work. While it incorporates, more or less revised, over half the content of its forerunner of ten years ago, and while in general the author's "slant" remains the same, nevertheless, it is entitled to be considered as more than even an extensive revision. It boldly sounds a new note, namely, the sociologist's right to judge of "values," because "perhaps the anthropologist or sociologist is peculiarly well fitted to discern and represent the universal needs and interests of *mankind*, as distinguished from the arbitrary goals set by man's various cultures." Interestingly enough the author has been encouraged to take this stand not only by development in medicine and anthropology but by the influence of Lester F. Ward. Indeed, he says, "the philosophy of Lester Ward has come alive again with new and better implementation." There is evidently gold in the sociological classics after all! On the personal side it is worthy of note that Folsom chose as collaborator for some of the newer, most vital chapters in this book, Mrs. Marion Bassett, wife, mother, homemaker as well as seasoned teacher; also that the book is dedicated to the author's first wife.

The distinctly new content includes the sections on trends in family change here and in Europe, the family and the evolution of democracy, the problem of positive eugenics, marriage as a legal status, the demography of marriage, the problem of homemaking, the future of homemaking. The final chapter on unsolved

problems will probably prove to be the most controversial section of the book. In general they reduce to two: "First, how can people find the mates who will assure monogamous, creative, enduring love in time to bear children in early adult years? Second, how can we harmonize the need for adult achievement and self-realization, especially of women, with the need of young children for that almost continuous attention which their development apparently requires?" In discussing these problems the author attacks certain—to him—fallacies, such as that the sexual act is exhausting, or that erotic excitement is injurious unless followed by intercourse. It will take vastly more evidence than he adduces to prove that these are fallacies: they may be so, but not on his showing. And it will not add to our confidence in his demonstration or in his ability to judge and conserve social values to be told that "We have learned from Freud that sexual repression is bad for emotional health." Seldom has the reviewer encountered so much question-begging compacted into a single half sentence. It is impossible, however, not to register complete accord with the author's epitome of his work in a brief statement near the end: "Democracy calls for a richer and freer companionship between men and women. The family in a true Democracy may be thought of as a point of intense concentration of a larger life of friendship and affection between the sexes. This should be enriched for its own sake, and everyone should be encouraged to participate according to his or her needs."

ARTHUR J. TODD

Northwestern University

The Family. By RUTH SHONLE CAVAN. New York: The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942. Pp. 593. \$3.50.

Of the writing of books on the family, there seems to be no end. Yet so extensive are the ramifications of family experience, that most of the new books by competent writers provide new and useful frameworks for organizing the facts, or at least reveal new insights and new relationships. In general, the recent books on the family fall into two types. One type consists of sociological textbooks which organize the known facts and theories, leaving to the student the application of knowledge to his own problems. The other type consists of marriage manuals written for the practical guidance of persons concerned with family experience. These books for the most part tend to be hortatory and to give advice in terms of rather dogmatic generalizations.

The book under review by Cavan is definitely of the former type. It is an amazingly complete sociological analysis of family life. It is true the historical, anthropological, and legal aspects receive rather sketchy treatment, based at times on secondary sources, yet the essentials are there.

Perhaps the nature of the book can be concisely indicated by listing features which are emphasized or distinctive. (1) The second part of the book, following a discussion of the nature of the family, consists of an effective *chronological* treatment of family experience beginning with courtship and extending to the later years of marriage life. (2) The discussion of the family experience of older persons provides a thoughtful analysis lacking in many textbooks. (3) Part III dealing with crises in family life, as well as other parts of the book, shows effective use of the role concept. (4) The book is distinctive in that without undue bulk, space is found for special family types and problems. In Part III (for example) the influence of depression and war is traced, and in Part IV dealing with social organization, there are chapters on the immigrant family and the Negro family. In this last part there is also a discussion of regional aspects of family life.

In classifying the book as representing an objective sociological and factual approach, there is no implication that the book lacks practical value to the college student. There is an enormous amount of pertinent information. There are illuminating case studies, provocative topics for discussion and useful bibliographic suggestions. The book is simply and clearly written. A student aware of the fact that, in the last analysis, he must make his own decisions cannot fail to profit from a study of this excellent text.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

University of Minnesota

Youth and Instruction in Marriage and Family Living. By LAURA W. DRUMMOND. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1942. Pp. 186. \$2.35.

Drummond would have tangled spiritedly with a certain well-known professor who closed the question of changing the content of his family course with the statement, "Students don't know what their own needs are! I'll give them what I think is good for them if I have to shove it down their throats." Her study sets out to "discover what young people themselves consider important materials of instruction with regard to marriage and the family." Undergraduate students and alumni of two Pennsylvania colleges

constitute her informants and there is every evidence that they responded frankly and constructively.

No teacher of a marriage course with his "ear to the ground" will contest Drummond's findings; indeed she should find confirmation for her conclusions in many colleges and universities outside Pennsylvania. Students want future courses oriented toward specific and away from general problems, toward personal and away from institutional or societal considerations, toward sex and pre-marriage problems and away from historical backgrounds of the family and the family as an institution. Of 2572 suggestions received from 632 students and alumni, 19 percent dealt with pre-marriage problems and only 1.4 percent with the family as an institution. Moreover freshmen, seniors, and alumni agree on the general order of importance of course content.

The "summary of findings," thoughtfully placed at the front, and the "conclusions and implications" deserve the attention of all curriculum builders and teachers in family life education. Unfortunately the statistical manipulations which are so painstakingly recorded in two chapters seem quite unrelated to the central problem of "reporting students' suggestions" and might better have been relegated to the appendix. An illusory impression of accuracy is obtained by their presence, and they appear out of place in this treatise which is in every other wise a work of merit.

REUBEN HILL

University of South Dakota

Infant and Child in the Culture of Today. By ARNOLD GESELL and FRANCES L. ILLG. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942. \$4.00.

Gesell and his collaborators have written another book. This volume follows more or less the "pattern" of previous publications. In the first part Gesell in his own inimitable style discusses the philosophy or concept of growth. An easy flow of words is both an asset and a dangerous weapon in the hands of a scientist. In parts of this volume the reader is apt to become so fascinated with picturesque speech that attention is detracted from the thought expressed. Expressive metaphors appear at times to cloud the real meaning. For example, the authors say, "A child's mind does not grow on the installment plan. It grows as a unit." Should this be taken to mean that all aspects of a child's mental development proceed at the same time and at the same rate? What could growth on the installment plan possibly mean?

A new word, "acculturation," is introduced

into the literature of child development. It refers to the "social heritage," the impact of social pressures in the development of a child. Acculturation runs parallel with "maturation." One has the feeling that if the two words had been born into our psychological literature at the same time, as twins, we might have been spared some of the polemics and hair-splitting which has been published on the subject of maturation.

Those who became acquainted with Dr. Illg's observational acuity in "Feeding Behavior of Infants" will recognize her contribution to this volume. She has the ability to see developmental significance in the common, everyday behavior of the growing child without necessarily putting him in a stereotyped situation to provoke it. This ability was distinctly evident in her description of the developmental change manifested in the simple act of a child holding a mother's hand as he walks to school. In this volume her vision of the child as "in" and "out of focus" at various stages of development reveals a sensitivity to the process of behavioral growth.

From the jacket cover one gathers that *Infant and Child in the Culture of Today* is addressed primarily to the laity, but it is also expected to be useful to those professionally interested in child care and development. As the study of children progresses, as it becomes more and more technical, or one might say, more scientific, the achievement of this two-fold purpose in one volume becomes increasingly difficult. This book suffers by trying to reach an extensive and varied audience. Much of the material presented is familiar to the professional worker, even to the advanced student of child development. On the other hand the form of presentation is much too detailed for the general reader. One wishes also that for the benefit of the lay reader a less rigid "Behavior Day" schedule might have been suggested and less emphasis upon chronological age in appraising achievement. Although the authors state repeatedly that individual variation in the development of children is normal and to be expected, their organization of the material presented speaks so loudly the reader can't hear what they say.

The "Behavior Day" schedules will be of greater benefit to students in conducting specific studies of development than to the ordinary mother of today. Few mothers in our present "war-time culture" could afford the time for such detailed hourly recording. On the other hand, the second part of the book discusses some practical and timely problems confronting the present-day mother. One of these is the advisability of nursery school for the pre-school child. Some of the most practical suggestions

for both parents and nursery school teachers appear in the appendix, which includes selective lists of: toys and equipment, story and picture books, songs, and musical records suitable for children of different ages.

The title might lead one to expect a delineation of those things peculiar to present day culture which definitely influence the development of the child. Such is not the case. On the whole, it seems to be just a general admission that culture, as well as innate endowment, is a force to be reckoned with in the growth of a child.

MYRTLE B. MCGRAW

Hastings-on-Hudson, New York

Jews in New England, No. I, *Historical Study of the Jews in Massachusetts*, No. II, *Jewish Merchants in Colonial Rhode Island*. By S. BROCHES. New York: Block Publishing Co., 1942. Pp. 68; pp. 80.

Jewish Pioneers and Patriots. By LEE M. FRIEDMAN. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1943. Pp. 430. \$2.50.

Specialists will welcome the documentary materials which Broches has made available in the first two of a series of monographs on the history of Jews in New England. These materials include merchants' letters, records from the Court of General Sessions and the Suffolk Registry of Deeds, tax lists, and excerpts from newspapers. The material clearly show that the Jews of early New England took an active part in the economic and civic life of the communities in which they lived, that they very early had a social life of their own, centering in the synagogue and in clubs, and that, on the eve of the Revolution, Jewish merchants loyally co-operated with Gentile merchants in the anti-British boycott.

Friedman's volume is made up of essays on a variety of subjects in Jewish-American history, including seventeenth century Jewish sugar planters, the story of Monaldo, a Jewish Catholic physician of Lima, Peru, Asher Pollock of Newport, who served with Washington's army in the Revolution, Mordecai Manuel Noah, early nineteenth century playwright, judge, major, and collector of the port of New York, Jews in American industry, Theodore Roosevelt and the Jews, and Jews as figures in nineteenth century romantic literature. Some of these essays contribute little to knowledge, others bring forward new material and new facts. In general Mr. Friedman supports the thesis that anti-semitism has always existed in America, though it was not generally a matter of discussion when

the Jewish community was small, that the Jews have made many notable contributions to American life, and that they have played their parts not primarily as Jews, but as Americans. Friedman's book is stronger in matters of detail, incidents, episodes, and personalities, than it is the sphere of generalization. Hence it will be of less interest to sociologists than to the older type of historian. Nevertheless the book, like the monographs of Broches, has much material necessary for the making of generalizations. These studies suggest the importance of further research, not only in episodes and personalities, but of larger movements. Above all, these studies, worthy though they are, also suggest the importance of relating specific facts to a social framework.

MERLE CURTI

University of Wisconsin

The War and the Jew. By VLADIMIR JABOTINSKY. New York: The Dial Press, 1942. Pp. 252. \$2.50.

This book was written in 1940 to press a claim for the inclusion of the Jewish problem in the war aims of the Allies.

The author points out how the Jews have been ignored. While Polish and Czech armies are recruited to re-establish their nations, Jews may not fight as Jews and are not considered allies. They have no assurance of an admission to a homeland, but they may return to the old centers of distress where discriminations, ghetto life, and pogroms await them. They must fight for other nations, but to the Jews an Allied victory brings no guarantee of welfare. The mere negative satisfaction of a Nazi downfall will not suffice—the ulcer of anti-semitism must be rooted out before a durable peace can become a surety in East-Central Europe.

The book reaches three conclusions. (1) An exodus of the bulk of the Jews is inevitable. If they remain as before, their large numbers will arouse all the old hatreds. (2) No exodus is possible except to a Jewish state. A mere evacuation to become a minority within some other body politic would bring no assurance of betterment. (3) There is only one suitable site for the Jewish state—Palestine. Several other places have been considered but, after weighing all factors, they have been abandoned. Palestine has problems, but there is sufficient room for the Arabs and several million Jews "and for peace; for so much peace that there would then be peace also in Europe."

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European Jews, as presented by a Jewish leader and Zionist, makes evident the plight of a minority group without a land which it can claim as its own. When one reads the book he may well begin to wonder about the so-called statesmanship in several of the national capitals. Is not this disregard of the Jewish problem actually endangering the whole world?

WILLIAM C. SMITH

Linfield College

Patterns of Negro Segregation. By CHARLES S. JOHNSON. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943. Pp. xxii + 332. \$3.50.

This book, one of a Negro in American Life Series sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation and directed by the Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal, undertakes to catalogue systematically the customary segregation of Negroes in industry, schools, libraries, courts of law, hotels, and a variety of other situations in the United States. It is based in part on surveys of one county or city in each of eight Southern and two border states, and of the Northern cities of Chicago and New York. There is also some consideration of the related topics of racial legislation, Negro personality, and Negro attitudes toward Whites.

The volume is remarkable chiefly for the singleness of purpose with which it exhibits variations in more or less familiar practices of Negro segregation and discrimination from one part of the country to another. The sampling and citations are much less adequate for the North than seems defensible in view of the fact that in the North today the treatment of Negroes often differs amazingly, even within the same state (as Wisconsin). Meanings would be clearer if upper and lower class Negroes could have been compared separately from region to region, and if extraneous factors could have been better controlled in general, e.g., in inferring discrimination against Negroes by various industries some allowance should be made for the numbers of Negroes exposed to employment in those industries. The attempts to account for the forms of segregation and their sectional deviations are too broad and ritualistic to furnish the reader with much understanding. A main part of the author's purpose is to show a conflict between Negro segregation and the values of democracy, and his own attitude appears in adjectives here and there: Southern policemen are "rabid" and "vicious," a White relief administration is a "farce," racial discriminations are "invidious," a refusal to admit

a Negress to a Southern hospital is "tragic." Certainly, few readers will be able to follow through the descriptions and anecdotes of racial discrimination that are amassed in the book without experiencing an accumulative emotional effect. Sociologists will probably be more disturbed, however, by the author's final recommendation of mandatory governmental controls and regulations as the most effective means for breaking down customary economic and political segregation of Negroes in the United States.

THOMAS C. MCCORMICK

University of Wisconsin

The Negro in the Caribbean. By ERIC WILLIAMS. Washington, D.C.: The Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1942. Pp. 119. \$5.00.

Into this excellent booklet the author has distilled from a vast amount of research and study the essential facts concerning the economic and social position of the Negro in the Caribbean. Despite revolutions and the transfer of these islands from one imperial system to another, the economic life of the Negro in the Caribbean has been dominated by sugar, the plantation system, and absentee ownership. As a consequence, the black masses are ignorant, poorly housed and ill-fed, and suffer from all the diseases due to malnutrition. Mixed-bloods who have managed through education to rise to middle class status have little sympathy for the black masses and lack the race consciousness of the educated mixed-bloods of the United States. The strikes during recent years by black workers indicate a growing revolt against foreign exploitation and an increasing demand for political participation as a means of raising living standards. The solution of these problems, the author holds, depends upon an enlightened policy on the part of the United States since these islands have been drawn within the American economic system by world events.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. By ROBERT L. JACK. Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1943. Pp. xiv + 110. \$1.00.

This is an uncritical presentation of the history of "the largest and most influential Negro organization in America." Two chapters are devoted to the origin and organizational structure of the Association and four to the Association's fight against lynching and racial segregation and discrimination and its fight for educa-

tional opportunity and political rights for Negroes. These latter chapters are documented with significant cases and events, cited often before in other sources, in which the Association has taken part.

The entire treatment is rendered socially sterile by the author's complete disregard of the significant international developments which have taken place since 1939, the year in which, apparently, his manuscript was completed. Although the author acknowledges the shortcomings of this procedure, it is worth noting that the Association itself called an emergency meeting recently for the purpose of re-appraising its functions and techniques in the light of recent international developments.

Social scientists will find little value in this book and laymen are apt to be confused by poor writing. Historical situations are sometimes presented in the present tense. Note, for example, the reference to letters written by the Association in 1911 to Governors regarding punishment of lynchers (p. 13), the reference to the Dyer anti-lynching bill of 1923 (p. 31), and finally, the statement, "The Association hopes to have an anti-lynching bill introduced in the present session of Congress providing the session is not limited to neutrality legislation" (p. 46)!

Criticism of the Association is limited to brief presentation of the views of two White writers published in 1915 and 1932. No attention is given to the criticism of the Association by Negroes themselves.

Mr. Jack set for himself a significant task in attempting to detail the function and ideology of this important organization, but it remains yet to be accomplished.

PRESTON VALIEN

United States Civil Service Commission

The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860.

By JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1943. Pp. 271. \$4.00.

This is a historical study of the growth and social position of the free Negro population in North Carolina for a significant period immediately preceding the Civil War. It is carefully written, well documented, and one of the few monographic works on the subject.

The free Negro population in North Carolina increased from approximately five thousand in 1790 to thirty thousand in 1860; and a major problem of the State was that of keeping down this increase. Franklin's study shows clearly the

position of these people. The slave society could not assimilate them; in fact, it could not even accommodate them. Moreover, a remarkable fact about the history of the free Negroes is that, instead of their finding an increasingly secure place in the community, they tended to become more and more an ulcerous growth in a system, which did its best to slough them off. "Gradually . . . there developed a feeling that the free Negro had no place at all in the social and economic life of North Carolina, and the sooner the State was rid of him the better" (p. 197).

To the Southern slavocracy the very presence of free Negroes constituted a perennial nuisance. One principal concern of the slaveholders and their laws was that of isolating the slaves from any influence which might encourage dissatisfaction; and free Negroes in the community were obviously such an influence. The planters feared the free Negro both as a possible bearer of insidious news among the slaves and as a passive individual who might serve as an object of invidious comparison. In either case, he remained a continuing source of social unrest.

Studies like this are especially valuable because they throw light on many aspects of modern Negro-White relationship. The multiplicity of repressive laws, which herded the free Negroes all together into a "morass" of social degradation, prefigured the pattern of the modern black codes. But although the social situation of the free Negroes was an unenviable one, their living in North Carolina was not so severe as in most of the other slave states. Many of them were literate and already they had begun to develop a degree of class distinction.

The book does not read easily. One reason for this lies in the consistent resort to long quotations and another in the paucity of interpretations. In at least one of his interpretations, however, sociologists seem to have led the author astray. For part of the following conclusion he cites R. E. Park: "If the relegation of the Negro in the antebellum South to an inferior status can be regarded as an accommodation through which the race problem found a natural solution, it can be said with some degree of confidence that the free Negro was a caste within a caste" (pp. 163-164).

Wiley College

O. C. Cox

Race, Reason, and Rubbish. A Primer of Race Biology. By GUNNAR DAHLBERG. Translated

from the Swedish by Lancelot Hogben. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. 240. \$2.25.

Here in small compass is displayed the reaction of an outstanding Scandinavian geneticist to the dogmas of race that have been notorious in the Nazis' rationalizations of their urge for world domination. It is addressed to the general public, and deals with the A, B, C's of the science of heredity that bear on questions of race and population quality.

The author attaches slight importance to the genetic effects of the differential birth rate observed between social classes in many countries. His exposition of the biological ineffectiveness of the sterilization of defectives should be known to every enthusiast for this device. A concept of interest to sociologists is the "isolate," a group within which marriage occurs with proportional or "chance" frequency. Between one isolate and another, of course, the frequency of marriage is restricted, or less than "chance." Evidently this idea can be extended to other types of social relationship, as employment, religious affiliation, visiting, trade. It also implies the use of statistical probability as the test of an isolate of any kind. A race is regarded as an isolate in the first sense. In Europe migration and interbreeding across frontiers make it very unlikely that genuine race isolates now exist or ever did exist there.

The lack of direct knowledge about human genetics is betrayed by constant reliance on experiments with lower animals and plants. Regarding the inheritance of intelligence and temperament, the author says candidly, "Among other characteristics which interest us most from the standpoint of heredity, we must include the mental ones; and research on the latter is tremendously cramped by our lack of precise methods for measuring them. So no results of scientific value have yet been reached in this connection." Quite obviously, where scientists have no grounds for conclusions, the pronouncements of race propagandists are left ridiculously suspended on nothing but their motives.

The translation is unusually well done in clear, animated, and very readable English.

THOMAS C. MCCORMICK

University of Wisconsin

The Etiology of Delinquent and Criminal Behavior. By WALTER C. RECKLESS. New York: Social Science Research Council. Bulletin 50, 1943. Pp. xii + 169. \$1.50.

The title of this slender volume and its sponsoring agency, to say nothing of its author, should and probably will guarantee it a place among the imperishably profound academic works which must eventually influence research in the direction of more fruitful discovering of what makes criminals and how we can short-circuit their evil ways. Doubtlessly, the oncoming students of crime will find this outline of more than ordinary interest and usefulness. The purpose of this volume, as of all others in the series of planning reports, is "to review critically the progress of research, to note research trends and promising leads, to locate gaps in our knowledge and deficiencies in our methods and inadequacies in research organization, and to make recommendations for raising research standards and for securing an increase in our scientific knowledge"—this, according to E. W. Burgess, chairman of the Committee on Problems and Policy.

Certainly, all eager researchers must applaud such high purposes. Reckless sets himself the task of realizing these obviously laudable purposes. The realization is somewhat less than the aim. The main difficulty appears to lie in the conviction (and this is true of nearly all such reports issued by SSRC, with a couple of notable exceptions) that in writing about problems that constantly baffle human beings the first and final requisite is to make the writing as uninspired as possible and the reading a kind of concentration camp experience. This reviewer maintains—definitions of *scholarly* and *profound* to the contrary notwithstanding—that Saharan aridity is *not* necessarily the *sine qua non* of significant research. To the everlasting credit of American sociology, the statistical boys got themselves good government jobs where they can amaze each other with their limited vocabularies and tabular causation. The next step toward emancipation is to prohibit, or at least discourage, prolixity that implies our lingering inferiority feelings.

Reckless divides contributions to the etiology of criminal behavior (*conduct*, it seems to me, is a simpler and more nearly correct label) into three periods: (1) "particularistic theories," (2) "first-hand research and segmented studies," and (3) "reformulation." Hereditarists, such as Goddard, Lange, and Rosanoff, are briefly considered. Body build, subnormal and abnormal intelligence, the four wishes, Hooton's mighty mole-hill, as well as other causes within the constitution of man are examined. "Causes in the confronting situation" include the work of

Shaw and McKay, Sletto, Healy and Bronner, the Gluecks, W. I. Thomas, Hayner, Lottier, Taft, Blumer and Hauser, *et al.* After a satisfactorily thorough analysis of situational influences upon human conduct, Reckless concludes "there is no reason to assume that the etiology of criminal behavior is exclusively or primarily sociological." He still thinks Michael and Adler were extreme. Since constitutionalists and situationalists have ground their data exceeding fine and the wind and sun have shown their sterility, "it would be wise indeed for the constitutionalists and situationalists to forego the search for etiological explanations of criminal behavior at the peripheries."

The system builders such as the criminal biologists, E. H. Sutherland, and Thorsten Sellin, are critically reviewed. Reckless lists four other approaches which he designates as (1) behavior processing, (2) behavior trait differences, (3) criminal risk, (4) response to treatment.

The author agrees with the opinion expressed by Richard L. Jenkins, M.D., that it is not necessary to have complete knowledge of causation in order to treat the crime patient. Certainly, modern treatment, if there is any, is not based on "complete knowledge of causation." Perhaps approximate or a working knowledge may be all we shall ever get, or need!

This reviewer's reaction to the analyses of criminological methodology and research as presented by Reckless is that while we may not have made much progress when measured by the achievements of airplane engineering, and while there remains altogether too much academic quibbling over words, techniques, procedures, and frames of reference, the salient fact remains that there appears to be little disagreement as to the kind of research that has yielded nothing but exercise and phony reputations.

Recognizing the chief deficiencies and gaps in this field with a considerably keener and shrewder eye than most current practitioners, Reckless suggests a "small, compact Academy for Research in Delinquent and Criminal Behavior . . . patterned after the Society for Research in Child Development . . . which society can gather together persons actively engaged in criminological research from the several contributing scientific disciplines." Such an Academy would serve as a clearing house, as well as furnish guidance and assistance for research workers. Presumably, the Academy would not be located, as was Michael and Adler's, at Columbia.

Appendices by William Healy, James V. Bennett, Ronald H. Beatty, C. C. Van Vechten, William Hurwitz and Bennet Mead, E. H. Sutherland, Svend Riemer, Richard L. Jenkins, Alfred R. Lindesmith, and H. Warren Dunham have been added. We suggest that competent graduate students be turned loose on this volume, to the end that they may give it some practical research value. J. P. SHALLOO

University of Pennsylvania

Young Offenders: An Enquiry into Juvenile Delinquency. By A. M. CARR-SAUNDERS, HERMANN MANNHEIM, and E. C. RHODES. London: Cambridge University Press, 1942. Pp. x + 168. \$1.75.

The major portion of this book is a report and analysis of an extensive statistical study into the social and environmental factors associated with male juvenile delinquency in England just prior to the war. Information was gathered concerning the first thousand delinquents brought before seven London courts beginning October 1, 1938. Similar material for another thousand male delinquents was gathered in six provincial cities: Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Hull, Nottingham, and Cardiff. A control group was used. This was made up of non-delinquents matched by age with the delinquents and picked from the same schools.

The study was planned as the result of a meeting convened by the Home Office, January 28, 1938. It was believed that such a study would throw light on the reason for the increase in juvenile delinquency. This it does not do, although the authors believe they have shown that a "real" increase existed (p. 156).

The main part of the study (pp. 54-159) is the work of E. C. Rhodes, Reader in Statistics. Factors similar to those studied in this country and elsewhere are analyzed under such headings as: The Home: Parents, The Home: Environment, The Boy Himself, Other Factors, The Crime, The Age of the Boy and Crime. It is significant that the factors found to differentiate delinquents from non-delinquents in England are the same factors found to differentiate these two groups in the United States. Only one exception to this was noted. The peak age of the delinquents in England is thirteen, whereas in the United States it is about two years higher.

One finding seems especially worth pointing out (pp. 108-10). Separation of parents (both legal and non-legal) is associated with delinquency; death of the father does not show such an association. Similar results have been found

in studies of delinquency in the United States, yet the category "broken homes" is still used as if all types of broken homes were equally associated with delinquency.

In the concluding chapter of this book there are suggestive leads for future research projects. The first two chapters and the appendix, written by Mannheim, deal with previous investigations, trends in delinquency, and additional information about the peak age of delinquents. These chapters are informative.

H. ASHLEY WEEKS

*War Department
Washington, D.C.*

A History of Community Interest in a Juvenile Court, Positive and Negative Manifestations during the Period 1885-1942 in Multnomah County, Oregon. By Allan East. Portland, Oregon: Oregon Probation Association, 1943. Pp. 32. 50 cents.

Here is an interesting study of the development of the juvenile court of Multnomah

County, Oregon, showing the vicissitudes through which the court has passed in its history. It is valuable in showing how the court arose out of the interest of laymen in the problems of juvenile delinquency at the latter part of the last century, how laymen's groups waxed and waned in their interest, and how at last political domination of the court and of the probation staff gave way to the pressure of citizens interested in the welfare of children. This study also raises interesting questions out of the experience of the courts and private social agencies as to whether the court is the best agency to deal with all classes of juvenile delinquents, or whether some should be dealt with by private agencies, leaving the court to deal with those who do not react against the court treatment and those who react against treatment by private agencies. In short, this study is a case history of the working of the court and other agencies in the handling of juvenile delinquents.

JOHN L. GILLIN
University of Wisconsin

BOOKNOTES

War and Education. By PORTER SARGENT. Porter Sargent, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, 1943. Pp. 506. \$4.00.

Good sociologists will not find much that is new to them but they will be pleased to see that at least one important figure in education sees that social phenomena are natural phenomena and can be studied and controlled by the general methods of natural science. Mr. Sargent began as a biologist but has come to see that social sciences are necessary and inevitable. He is a deadly enemy of cant and confusion and writes like a man educated twenty years ago rather than perhaps a half century ago.

Using his well known technique of digesting and commenting upon articles written by authorities in many fields, Mr. Sargent shows how our culture remains economically, politically, and socially unadjusted to the tremendous technological changes of the last century. He then shows how these changes result inevitably in centralization, unification, and nationalization of educational control. However, educators have been woefully slow to perceive these trends and have failed to make the necessary readjustments to the present and probable future; they have retreated into the past and have been more interested in maintaining the status quo, if not

status quo ante, than in facing the challenge of the present and formulating a constructive program for the future; they have had ideals without vision and have provided a curriculum of piecemeal additions to the outworn curricula of the past and have made youth the scapegoat for the shortcomings of their elders. This war is merely one of the many tragic and wasteful results of the failure of education properly to do its job.

He then discusses control in education and lays down some principles for the guidance of education if it is to play its part in molding the future. He shows that the trend—and the best hope—is the increasing decrease of reliance on supernatural sanctions and goals and the growth of reliance on science and a science-based art. This trend eventually "may displace hate, waste, and war."

The nearly 1000 citations and Mr. Sargent's running comments of pungency and punch make this a most stimulating book for all who have any professional interest in education. Educational administrators are the ones who should ponder it most seriously, but, by and large, they are so enmeshed in tape and burdened with trivia that few of them will read it and still fewer will heed it; the few that heed it will be helpless to do anything constructive about it.

Sargent reads biological, social, and physical scientists widely and understands all of them better than most of them understand each other.

It Is Later Than You Think. (1943 edition).

By MAX LERNER. New York: The Viking Press, 1943. Pp. xlv + 252. \$2.50.

This is the 1943 edition of Lerner's well-known book. The main body of the text remains unaltered; the author has merely added postscripts to most of the chapters and written a new introductory chapter. Lerner has proved amazingly prophetic, and with the new material the volume is even more timely than it was in 1938.

Chinese Symbols and Superstitions. By H. T. MORGAN. California: Times-Mirror Printing and Binding House, 1942. Pp. 192. \$3.50.

This is an interesting little book, worth referring to when reading more systematic works such as Harvey's *The Mind of China*.

The Ageless Indies. By RAYMOND KENNEDY. New York: The John Day Company, 1942. Pp. xvi + 208. \$2.00.

When the United Nations succeed in wresting the West Indies from Japanese hands, it is safe to say that there can be no return to the days before World War II. The native peoples will unquestionably demand a larger share in the control of their destinies. However cynical we may be as to whether they will get what they ask, there can be no question that sweeping concessions will have to be made. Kennedy's book is no mere travelogue, but a popular work, in the best sense, by a competent sociologist and anthropologist. It should be required reading in the courses in military government now being established in the home of the Four Freedoms.

Guam and Its People. By LAURA THOMPSON. New York: American Council Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941. Pp. xii + 308. \$2.50.

This is a meritorious monument to congressional stupidity. Guam is no longer in our hands, for "statesmen" unable to see further than the next township refused to fortify our important Pacific outpost. How long will it be before studies of this kind can be made again?

Miss Thompson obviously has been thoroughly trained in a good anthropological tradition, and has succeeded in making Guam as it was in 1941 a vivid reality.

Pouvoir. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO. New York: Brentano's, 1942. \$1.50.

The English translation of *Pouvoir* will be reviewed in this journal, hence it is unnecessary to do more here than to call attention to the avail-

ability of the French original, issued as it is by a New York publisher.

Education in the United States. AMERICAN COUNCIL ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS, Washington, D.C., 1943. Pp. vi + 112. \$1.00.

This report of a joint commission of the Council for Education in World Citizenship and the London International Assembly reviews the damage to educational equipment and organization in most of the Axis overrun countries, makes proposals for reeducation in the enemy countries (with particular attention to Germany), and concludes with a discussion of education as a foundation for the postwar system.

Most readers will agree with most of the recommendations which of necessity are vague and brief. Some may disagree with the proposals for reeducation in the enemy countries. Some of these sound somewhat like a gentlemanly version of the Nazi educational policies as they have been practiced in the past and are now being practiced. It is made clear, however, that these proposals for censorship of the press, school books, radio, cinema, etc., destruction of all extreme Nazi books, supervision of teacher freedom, and so on, are only temporary expedients. Though the objectives are laudable, many people will be disturbed by the methods outlined. Most Americans think such educational policies are one of the things we are fighting against.

Myth and Society in Attic Drama. By ALAN M. G. LITTLE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. vii + 95. \$1.50.

Only recently has the influence of social anthropology begun to make itself felt among the students of the Greek and Latin classics in this country—and this in spite of the early examples provided by Harrison, Cornford, and a host of French scholars. Thomson's *Aeschylus and Athens* apparently started the present vogue. Unfortunately, Thomson and "ithers o'that ilk" have leaned too heavily on a kind of social anthropology which makes much too much of old-fashioned theories of totemism and related matters, perhaps because Thomson's orientation is strongly Marxian, and consequently harks back to Morgan, Engels, and their epigoni.

However this may be, Mossner's study is in part independent of such erroneous premises, and the discussion of the slow emergence of Attic drama from the amorphous matrix of folk thought into the schematic clarity of the new comedy is beautifully analyzed. Here is a case study in secularization that is worth the time of any sociologist who can get his nose off his Comptometer for an hour or two.

Aristotle's Politics. Translated by BENJAMIN JOWETT. Introduction by Max Lerner. New York: The Modern Library, 1943. Pp. 367. \$95.

There is no particular reason why a political scientist should write a preface to *Aristotle's Politics*, for the Stagirite was interested in much more than "in what constituted the strength and weakness of the political community." After all, the *zoön politikon* presupposes the *zoön koinonikon*, i.e., man living in the smaller community of the city-state functions within the larger context of a world in which all human creatures, Greek or barbarian, live in communities. This much said for the sake of professional *esprit de corps*, it may also be said that Lerner's introduction covers fairly well those points which the mythical "general reader" would expect to have covered for him, and that the text not only follows the famous Jowett version, but also gives the requisite marginal numbers. An index is lacking, but perhaps that is too much to expect for less than one dollar.

Bartolus on Social Conditions. By ANNA T. SHEEDY. New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. 267. \$3.25.

Bartolus was a professor of law, both Roman and canon, at Perugia in the fourteenth century. He wrote voluminously, following, in general, the models of his time and place. He seems to have had a rather warm feeling for the Franciscan order and to have acted in its defense on several occasions. With regard to heretics and Jews, he seems to have commented very much in the vein of his predecessors and contemporaries—although for the Jew it is difficult to show anything either distinctly favorable or unfavorable.

The monograph is obviously based on thorough knowledge of the primary sources, and there has been extensive reading of the secondary writings, as the bibliography shows. Unfortunately, Sheedy has provided very little comment of her own, and does not seem to have used the interpretive leads available in the secondary literature. The book is a valuable reference, of course, for those interested in the period, but it carries a distinctly antiquarian aroma.

Men of Substance. By W. K. JORDAN. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. 283. \$3.00.

We sometimes think that sociologists are parochial, faction-ridden, and excessively departmentalized. Assuming this to be true for the moment, and also assuming that misery loves company, it might be well to read *Men of Substance*. Here is a book which professedly analyzes the social thought of two revolutionaries of Milton's period, and in which there is not one solitary reference to Milton. Why? For the reason that Milton is usually dealt with by specialists in the Department of English; therefore, a respectable historian must confine himself to thinkers with whom academic historians traditionally deal.

Aside from this glaring flaw, it can be said that

Jordan has furnished us with another standard monograph of traditional idiographic type. The reader can learn from it much about Henry Parker and Henry Robinson, including their genealogies, their religious, political, social, and economic thought, but very little about the total intellectual context into which they fit. Perhaps this is too much to expect (if one must be painfully fair), for the struggle for status in academic historical circles is won through conformity to current patterns of scholarship. How long, O Lord, how long?

The Forgotten Hume. By ERNEST CAMPBELL MOSSNER. New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. xv + 251. \$3.00.

With the exception of the penetrating and lucid discussion in Teggart's *Theory of History* and Bryson's unpublished book, *Man and Society in the Eighteenth Century*, the reviewer knows of no first-rate analysis of the sociological contributions of David Hume, the famous leader of the Scottish Enlightenment. Mossner's book does not remedy the deficiency, for it is primarily biographical, and one-sidedly biographical at that. The criterion for selection is primarily Hume's character; Mossner feels that for all the clammy atheism with which Hume was charged, he was nevertheless a fine example of benevolence and forbearance. This is all quite interesting, but it does not provide grist for the sociologist's mill. It may be, of course, that sociology of knowledge can glean something from this demonstrated coincidence of hard-boiled naturalism and kindly urbanity, but the pickings are likely to be slim.

Sociocultural Causality, Space, Time. By PITIRIM A. SOROKIN. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. 1943. Pp. ix + 246. \$3.50.

Some more Sorokinism! Why Duke University Press found it advisable to publish a systematized collection of key paragraphs from *Social and Cultural Dynamics* passeth human understanding. Sorokin, of course, can be understood.

As a superfluous marginal comment, one may speculate as to why our eminent author has not yet been called into the State Department as special adviser; surely his principles of integralist sociology would fit well with what seem to be our official tendencies toward clerical Fascism, but as was once sagely remarked, "Ivery man to his taste, as the auld lady said when she kissed her cow."

Science for the Citizen. By LANCELOT HOGBEN. Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Company, Inc., 1943. \$2.49.

The man who drags together in usable form the contributions of a host of scientific specialists deserves more recognition than he ordinarily gets (to be sure, Hogen is a geneticist of the first rank,

and thus needs not tremble before the specialist's frown). There is no doubt that some of his colleagues have shrugged pitying shoulders when confronted by his amazingly successful popularizations. *Science for the Citizen* has now reached a second edition in spite of the numerous reprintings of the first, and it is to be hoped that the book will go on from success to success. No one can read it with uniform interest and understanding, but it is fair to say that anyone living in the modern world should be on at least speaking terms with most of Hogben's topics.

The author does not restrict himself to straight exposition; he is too much the enthusiastic Labor Party member to be as ascetic as some scientists might wish, but why, in an avowedly popular work, should judicious sermonizing be regarded as a blemish? At least Hogben knows when he is preaching, which is more than some of us can say.

The Reference Function of the Library. Edited by PIERCE BUTLER. University of Chicago Studies in Library Science. 1943. Pp. x + 366. \$3.00.

This is a collection of the papers presented at the Institute for librarians held by the Chicago University Graduate Library school in 1942. It analyzes the nature of reference work and considers the procedures in the different types of libraries and subject fields, the organization and administration of reference libraries, and the training of personnel. It is an excellent compendium of reference work not only for librarians but also for scholars and teachers concerned with the reference functions and equipment of libraries of all kinds.

The Art of Worldly Wisdom. By BALTHASAR GRACIAN. Translated from the Spanish by Joseph Jacobs. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. Pp. lxxiv + 196. \$1.50.

Whenever "a shrewd way of getting things you want" was at a premium, the classic maxims of the seventeenth-century Spanish Jesuit found their translators. The publishing blurb hints at Dale Carnegie's primer in expedient ways for little men. That is symptomatic of the timeliness of this reprint of the 1892 edition as was Martin Fisher's new translation of the "Truth-telling Manual" in 1934. We prefer the Jacobs translation, however; its English is somewhat faded but never "corny," which of all things is remote indeed from the Spaniard's courtly polish.

We wish the bibliography had been brought up to date and, pedantic as we are, we could not help noting in passing that the misprint in the last paragraph of the 1913 edition has not been eliminated but that another one has been added in the

same line. To advertise the reprint as "the first American edition" sounds a trifle flamboyant and might lead to misunderstandings. This reprint differs from earlier ones only in that the dates of former reprints have been omitted.

Introduction to Judaism. By BERYL D. COHEN. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1942. Pp. x + 188. \$1.25.

Sociologists seem to know surprisingly little of Judaism as a form of faith and religious organization. This little handbook is designed primarily for Jewish children of confirmation and high-school age, but because it defines religious and social situations from the standpoint of Jewish subjects, it is eminently worth while for sociologists who concern themselves with the "soft facts" which sometimes mean so much more than the supposedly all-important hard ones.

Rural Regions of the United States. By A. R. MANGUS; ELLEN WINSTON, technical editor. Washington, D.C.: F.W.A., Div. of Research, 1940. Pp. ix + 230. Free.

This excellent report, with 17 figures, 25 tables, and a complete list of the counties included in the 218 rural-farm subregions and the 264 rural subregions, was prepared primarily as an aid in handling problems of relief and unemployment. However, it will be found a useful aid in all types of research in which basic comparisons between different cultural areas are undertaken. The county is the unit. This enables one to use the data available from the various counties and yet put them into a regional cultural frame of reference which has been carefully worked out. The cultural and demographic indices used for the rural-farm regions were: plane of living, children, low income farms, tenancy, wage workers, land value, produce consumed on farms, size of family, part-time farms, Negro, foreign-born White, native White of foreign-born or mixed parents, native-born of native-born, "other races," full owners, tenants of 5 years or more, density of population, tractors per 100,000 acres. Chapter IV is an interesting description of the procedure used.

Social Theories of the Middle Ages. By BEDE JARRETT. Westminster, Maryland: The New-man Book Shop, 1942. Pp. 280. \$3.00.

This is an unaltered reprint of Jarrett's 1926 book, issued this time by an American rather than by a British publisher. The first printing has been unavailable for some time, so that a real need has been filled for those students of the history of social thought who would like to become acquainted with an obscure period in Western intellectual development.